
VEXAT DUM FULG
Ignorantia
Superstitio
J. Ellis fec. Grays Inn


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DISCOURSES

CONCERNING

RELIGION

AND

GOVERNMENT,

Inſcribed to all Lovers of

TRUTH and LIBERTY.

By A. C———s.

Nihil eſt tam Regium, tam liberale, tamque munificum, quam opem ferre ſupplicibus, excitare afflictos, dare ſalutem, liberare periculis homines. Tull. *de Orat.* Lib. I.

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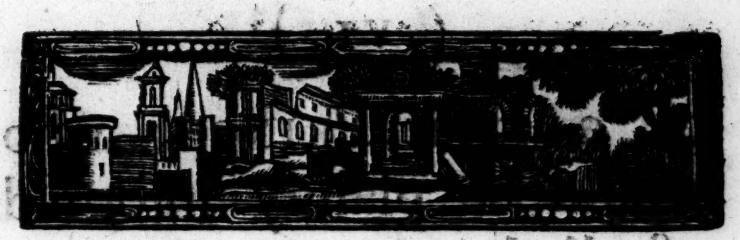
CONFERENCE

AND

SELECTION

OF

DISCOURSES



THE

AUTHOR's DECLARATION.

THO' Prefaces are quite out of faſhion, I yet hope the benevolent Reader will forgive me for making a ſhort Declaration concerning the Publication of this Work, as follows.

In primis & ante omnia. I do declare that this Work was written at the Command of

of a great PRINCE, who would be plainly inform'd of all the matters contain'd in it: and as that PRINCE was then reputed to be one of the greateſt Politicians of his Age, I was oblig'd to proportionate my Labour to his profound Capacity. So that if I have reveal'd ſome Religious or Civil Myſtery, which had generally been conceal'd, I have methinks given a ſufficient Reaſon for it: However, I have alter'd ſome Paſſages, and ſoften'd ſome Expreſſions, to make them more intelligible and more agreeable to the Reader.

Item.

Item. I do ſolemnly declare, that in all this Work I had nothing in view but Truth, Equity, or Juſtice: In a word, the Good of Mankind in general; and I flatter my ſelf that all who ſhall peruſe it with Candor, will be convinc'd of the Rectitude of my Intentions.

Item. I do declare, that I have kept cloſe throughout this Work to the Doctrine and Morality of our Saviour, according to the beſt of my Knowledge; and I hope I have not advanc'd any thing without good Authorities.

Item.

Item. I do proteſt before GOD and Men, that whatever is ſaid in this Work concerning the Church or Clergy is to be underſtood of the Popiſh Church and Clergy only, (who really have long ſince abandon'd and deſpis'd the moſt ſacred Precepts of our Bleſſed LAWGIVER) and not of any other Church whatſoever; whoſe Clergy and Prelates being very merciful, very humble, vaſtly charitable, pious, and ſuch utter Enemies to Grandeur and Riches; may juſtly be ſtiled the true and only Imitators of Chriſt's Diſciples, and of

thoſe primitive good Prelates * inſtituted by the Apoſtles.

Item. I do declare, that I have not here oppoſed the ſuperſtitious Tenets of the Popiſh Church; for this has been ſo often done ever ſince the Reformation, and by ſo many Learned Divines, that it would be vain to attempt it. Beſides, Popiſh Princes little regard at this time what is ſaid againſt Tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory, Confeſſion, Invocation of Saints, and ſuch like; as things,

* See the 54th Page of this Book, and you will find what their Duty was, and with what Qualities they were endued.

things, which no ways affect their temporal Intereſt: ſo, whether theſe opinions are well or ill-grounded; whether they ſpring from Heaven, or from Human Malice, 'tis no matter. But were they to know how prejudicial the Popiſh Religion is to their AUTHORITY, and to the WELLFARE of their ſeveral Countries; they then would undoubtedly think upon the proper Expedients to preſerve themſelves and their Subjects from Ruin; and this is what I have endeavour'd to make evident in the enſuing Work. I therefore hope it will prove very

very beneficial to ſuch Princes, and even be of ſome ſervice to this Country, particularly at this time, when "the Emiſſaries of Popery (as a worthy Divine * has obſerved) "have increaſed "their Diligence in gaining "Proſelytes, and are now "more induſtriouſly em-"ploy'd in every Corner of "our Metropolis, than has "been any time known in "the preſent Age.

LASTLY, I declare that I have made uſe of all the Reaſon and Underſtanding I am maſter of, to diſcover the

* Dr. Clarke's Sermons, pag. 18.

the TRUTHS contained in the ſacred Writings, ſo hidden and involv'd in Myſteries; in order that by them TRUTHS I might procure my own Happineſs and that of others. I preſume I have found them, and for that reaſon I now publiſh them. But if I have unluckily fallen into any involuntary Error, as I know my ſelf not to be infallible; I earneſtly intreat all the orthodox and eminent Divines of this happy Kingdom to point them out to me, and to convince my Reaſon by Reaſon itſelf, that I may both retract and avoid them.

And

And I farther beg of our SPIRITUAL DIRECTORS, that in caſe they favour me with this ſalutary Advice, to do it not with Paſſion and Bitterneſs, but with Meekneſs, Charity, and Humanity, as on ſuch occaſions our moſt holy LAW-GIVER has expreſly commanded *. For nothing is baſer, more unworthy, and more ſcandalous; nay, more contrary to the very Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, than to rail, calumniate, to load with odious Appellations, and perſecute thoſe, who labour Day and Night

* Matth. xviii. 21, &c.

Night to find out the TRUTH, buried as it is in the dark Abyſs of Errors and Superſtitions.

AFTER having made this plain *Declaration*, as I know my ſelf to be wholly deſtituted of Friends; I hope that the ALMIGHTY GOD, whoſe Power is above all Human Artifice and Malice, will protect me againſt thoſe, that will certainly *promote* my *Deſtruction*, for having openly eſpouſed the Cauſe of *Truth* and *Equity*.

THE

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DISCOURSE I.

OF THE LIFE and DOCTRINE of CHRIST.

A GRECIAN Philoſopher of vaſt Learning and profound Penetration, has left us a very wholeſome and important Advice; that a wiſe Man ſhould never run the leaſt riſque, by endeavouring to inſtruct ſuch as are incapable of Inſtruction *a*, meaning the dull and ſtupid Vulgar †. And yet he did not follow it, but expoſed himſelf to many Dangers to bring his Cotemporaries acquaint-

a Lucian. in Alexandro impoſtore.

B ed

† By the Vulgar I mean great and ſmall, noble and ignoble, rich and poor, Pretenders to Knowledge, and the Ignorant, in a Word, all ſuch as have no more Knowledge in Matters of Religion than the Vulgar.

ed with Truth *. Now, what could induce that great Man to act againſt his Principles and deſpiſe Death itſelf, but his love of Truth? Truth, like the Sun, charms the Man whoſe eyes are ſtrong enough to contemplate its beauty and ſplendor, ſo that as long as he beholds it, he is happy, but ceaſes to live as ſoon as he ceaſes to enjoy its light; for it is ceaſing to live, tho' we ſtill breathe, when we ceaſe to enjoy what we love.

THE ſame Zeal that actuated Lucian, puts me upon publiſhing ſome Truths, not regarded, becauſe not known. And I think it my duty to run the greateſt hazards as well to let mankind into them, that they may make a proper uſe of them, as to teſtify my ſincere acknowledgments to thoſe, who deſpiſing the dangers that threatened them, firſt pointed them out to me, and thereby gave me an opportunity of improving by them. And indeed, what ſhould we now be if thoſe great Men, whom Nature has from time to time bleſſed with an uncommon Sagacity, had been afraid of imparting to us thoſe Truths, which they had diſcovered by their ſtudy and meditation? what ſhould we be but the vile and abject ſlaves of Ignorance †?

HOWEVER, I have this comfort, that I may publiſh theſe Truths without fearing any Danger.

* Lucian has ridiculed all the Religions of his time. v. Deorum Dialog. & Icaromenippus.

† On this Head ſee that great and good man Mr. Collins's Diſcourſe on Free-thinking, Sect. 1. 2.

Danger. For, as I am in a bleſſed Country, where men are juſtly allowed to make uſe of their Reaſon, they will, I hope, be neither dazled nor offended by the brightneſs of them, the eyes of their Underſtanding being uſed to the enjoyment of Light. Whereas thoſe wretched Creatures, who groan under the cruel yoke of Prieſts, having been always in the darkneſs of Ignorance, can neither bear its Brightneſs, nor enjoy it. And in this they are like a ſick man, who having been long kept in Darkneſs, and finding himſelf in a weak and languiſhing condition, for a great while hates that Light which charms the man in health, it being a pleaſure to the one, but a pain to the other. I ſhall therefore enter upon this Diſcourſe by propounding the Truths of Chriſtianity contained in the Laws of Jeſus Chriſt, and then ſuch other as ſhall be agreeable to my ſubject.

THE Doctrine of Chriſt is grounded upon four Principles: Poverty, Humility, Forgiveneſs, and Charity. Theſe are the four angles that complete the Chriſtian Edifice, either of which giving way, it becomes imperfect and deformed. Theſe are foundations of the Chriſtian Common-wealth, which once failing, abſolutely diſcompoſe and deſtroy it. I ſhall not here enter into our Legiſlator's motives in fixing upon theſe principles, having occaſion in my third Diſcourſe to ſpeak more largely to that point, but ſhall only give a faithful account of his Precepts.

THE firſt was; "Lay not up for your-
"ſelves Treaſures for where your Treaſure
a Mat. vi. "is, there will your Heart be alſo *a*:" where-
19, 21. fore they that have Riches ſhall hardly enter into the kingdom of Heaven. Nay, he declared it was impoſſible for them to enter into it, ſaying, "It is eaſier for a Camel to go
"thro' the eye of a needle, than for a rich
"man to enter into the kingdom of Hea-
b Mark x. "ven *b*. For no man can ſerve two maſters,
23, 25. "for either he will hate the one and love the
"other, or elſe he will hold to the one, and
"deſpiſe the other. Therefore I ſay unto you,
c Mat. vi. "ye cannot ſerve God and Mammon *c*."
24. That is, ye cannot ſerve God, if ye are continually employed in heaping up Riches.

THE ſecond Precept was: Verily "ex-
"cept ye be converted, and become as lit-
"tle children, (that is humble) ye ſhall
"never enter into the kingdom of Heaven *.
"For this reaſon whoſoever ſhall be as a
"Child, ſhall be greateſt in the kingdom of
d Matth. "Heaven *d*. Call not yourſelves Rabbi, that
xviii. 3, 4. "is Maſter or Doctor, for God alone is your
"Doctor and Maſter, and ye are all Bre-
"thren; but he that is greateſt among you
"ſhall be the Servant of the reſt; for he that
"exalteth himſelf ſhall be abaſed, and he that
e Matth. "humbleth himſelf ſhall be exalted *e*." Chriſt
xxiii. 8, 10 ſpoke
11, 12.

* What the kingdom of Heaven was, which Chriſt promiſed his Diſciples, will be ſhewn in the third Diſcourſe.

ſpoke thus to his Diſciples, becauſe we ought all to be equal in the ſtate of Nature, wherefore he declared that we ought to be as little children, in order to enter into the kingdom of Heaven. For Children are ſtrangers to Ambition and Avarice, the only obſtacles that hinder mankind from entering into that Kingdom, or into the ſtate of Nature, in which God alone is King. For the ſame reaſon Chriſt forbad his Diſciples to call each other Doctor or Maſter, ſeeing that God alone is the Director and Lord of ſuch as follow the plain and juſt laws of Nature. And ſo much the rather, becauſe Chriſt knew, that thoſe Diſſentions and diſorders that are ſo frequent amongſt Men, had their riſe from the different Doctrines infuſed into them by their Prieſts or Doctors: Misfortunes! which Chriſtians might have avoided, had they obſerved the Injunction of their wiſe Legiſlator, by never allowing any Divines amongſt them *.

THE third Precept was; "Reſiſt not Evil, "but whoſoever ſhall ſmite thee on the "right cheek, turn to him the other alſo; "and if any man will take away thy coat, "let him have thy cloak alſo; and who-"ſoever ſhall compell thee to go a mile, go "with him twain. Ye have heard that it "hath been ſaid, thou ſhalt love thy neigh-"bour and hate thine enemy: but I ſay "unto ye, love your enemies, bleſs them "that curſe you, do good to them that "hate

* This relates to the third Diſcourſe.

" hate you, and pray for them that deſpight-
" fully uſe you and perſecute you. For if
" ye forgive men their treſpaſſes, your hea-
" venly Father will alſo forgive you. But
" if ye forgive not men their treſpaſſes,
" neither will your heavenly Father forgive
" your treſpaſſes *a*." And to ſhew Mankind
a Mat. v. 39, &c. vi. 14, 15. the neceſſity of obeying this Commandment, Chriſt taught them to beg of God the pardon of their Sins conditionally, that is, " in
" the ſame manner as they pardoned thoſe
" who offended them *b*." So, that Chri-
b Mat. vi. 12. ſtians do not pray for the pardon of their Sins, but for their own Damnation. For, where ſhall we find the man in this corrupt age, who ſincerely forgives his enemies, and can bear the greateſt Injuries with patience? I am willing to believe that this may be practiſed by ſome few, conſidering the great number of Chriſtians, but ſtill upon examining the motives, we ſhall find it proceeds in moſt of them, either from ſtupidity, or want of courage or power, or the fear of human juſtice, or intereſt *, and not in obedience to the Commandment of Chriſt, which he gave us with deſign to inform us, that as we are animals of a moſt vicious nature, we ought mutually to forgive each other our Vices, if we would live eaſy.

THE fourth Precept was: " When thou
" makeſt a dinner, or ſupper, call not thy
" friends,

* As they do, who for Money forgive a blow, or other injury; or as voluntary Cuckolds, who ſell their Wives favours for Money, or the Patronage of ſome great Man.

" friends, nor thy brethren, neither thy
" kinſmen, nor thy rich neighbours; leſt
" they alſo bid the again, and a recom-
" penſe be made thee. But when thou makeſt
" a feaſt, call the poor, the maimed, the
" lame, and the blind, and thou ſhalt be
" bleſſed, for they cannot recompenſe thee *a*.
" Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thyſelf *b*.
" Give unto him that aſketh thee, and from
" him that would borrow of thee turn not
" thyſelf away *c*." " Sell that ye have, and
" give Alms *d*. Love one another as I have
" loved you, thus ſhall Men know that
" ye are my Diſciples *e*. Be ye therefore
" merciful, as your Father alſo is merciful *f*.
" Bleſſing them that curſe you, and praying
" for them that deſpightfully uſe you *g*.
" For if ye love them which love you, what
" thank have ye, do not the Publicans the
" ſame? and if ye do good unto them which
" do good unto you, what thank have ye?
" for Sinners alſo do the very ſame *h*. And
" if ye lend to thoſe of whom ye hope to
" receive, what thank have ye? for Sinners
" alſo lend to Sinners to receive as much
" again. Therefore love your Enemies, and
" do good, and lend hoping for nothing
" again *i*. And your reward ſhall be great,
" and ye ſhall be the children of the Higheſt;
" for he is kind unto the unthankful, and to
" the evil *k*."

a Luke xiv. 12, 13, 14.
b Matth. xxii. 39.
c Id. v. 42.
d Luke xii 33.
e John xiii 34, 35.
f Luke vi. 36.
g Id. ib. 28.
h Id. ib. 32, 33.
i Id. ib. 34.
k Id. ib. 35.

THESE are the four principal and eſſential points, declared by Chriſt, on which is founded the Chriſtian Religion. We ſhall

now examine whether they are to be interpreted literally or not. And this may be proved by the life and conduct of Christ, which, if agreeable to his Doctrine, will make the sense of his words literal; but if not they must be interpreted in another manner.

CHRIST then enjoined Poverty, and came into the world poor, "for Mary was "delivered of him in a manger, she having no money to pay for a lodging in "the Inn *a*." Christ always lived in a poor condition, "being obliged to work a wonder to pay the usual tribute to the Empe-"ror *b*." "Christ loved Poverty, for he al-"ways dwelt among the poor, and refused "a Crown *c*." His intention being to set Men free, and not to make slaves of them, like other Legislators, under the specious pretence of explaining the Divine Will to them. Lycurgus indeed must be excepted, who acted upon a principle of equity and justice; and endeavoured not to set himself up above the Lacedemonians, but to make them happy, by settling an equality amongst them, and by being the first to practice it in regard to his fellow-citizens, *d* as Christ did among his Disciples.

a Id. 2. 7. &c.

b Matth. xvii. 27.

c John vi. 15.

d Plutarc. in Licurgo

"CHRIST enjoined humility, and was "humble. After declaring he came not to "be ministred unto, but to minister unto "others *e*." He shewed his humility on several occasions, and amongst others *e*, by washing "his

e Matth. xx. 28

his Diſciples feet: an action ſo mean and humble, that Peter was aſhamed of it, and could not refrain crying out, thou ſhalt never waſh my feet. And yet he did; and after waſhing the reſt of his Diſciples feet, gave them this excellent advice. "Ye, ſaid he, call "me Maſter and Lord: if then, I, your "Lord and Maſter, have waſhed your feet, "ye alſo ought to waſh one another's feet: "for I have given you an example, that ye "ſhould do as I have done to you *a*." In a word, Chriſt, to ſhew his great humility, reproved him that called him good Maſter, ſaying, "Why calleſt thou me good? there "is none good, but one, that is God *b*."

a John xiii 8, &c.

b Mat. xix. 16, 17.

CHRIST commanded us to forgive injuries, and love our enemies; and he himſelf loved and forgave his cruelleſt Perſecutors. "For he called Judas by the kind "name of Friend the very moment he was "betraying him *c*;" and reproved Peter for "wounding Malchus in the ear in his defence *d*." Chriſt forgave the Samaritans the injury they did him in refuſing him entrance into their country, and ſeverely rebuked James and John for giving way to that ſpirit of revenge, which is ſo predominant amongſt almoſt all Prieſts. Wilt thou, Lord, ſaid they, that we command fire to come down from Heaven and conſume them? To which Chriſt anſwered, "Ye know not what "ſpirit ye are of (for in reality they talked "like men raving mad) for I am not "come to deſtroy men's lives, but to ſave them

c Matth. xxvi. 50.

d Joh xviii. 10, 11.

"them *a*. Jeſus bore with meekneſs all the "injurious treatment of his enemies, and "upon the Croſs beſought God to forgive "them *b*."

a Luke ix. 52, &c.

b Luke xxiii. 34.

Laſtly Chriſt recommended Charity, and was exceeding charitable. He has left us an excellent and laudable inſtance of Charity, in the man, "who going from Jeru- "ſalem to Jericho, unhappily fell among "Thieves, who robbed and left him half "dead on the ground, and who, neglected "and abandoned by two Prieſts that came "by, was relieved by a Samaritan *c*." The Reader will pardon me a ſhort digreſſion, for the ſake of a reflection or two which I think extremely neceſſary.

c Luke x. 29, &c.

THE firſt reflection I ſhall make is, that Chriſt has in this Parable ſhewn us, that Prieſts have ever been void of Charity. My ſecond is, that tho' the Jews looked upon the Samaritans as Infidels, for admitting the Pentateuch only, "yet Chriſt in this pa- "rable commends the Samaritans, and con- "demns the Jewiſh Prieſts; and in another "too he in like manner juſtifies the Publi- "can, and condems the Phariſee *d*." From theſe two compariſons, moſt ſhameful to the Jewiſh Prieſts or Doctors of the Law, but glorious to Unbelievers and Sinners, ſuch as the Samaritans and Publicans, we ought to conclude, that Chriſt was fully ſatisfied, that ſuch as are commonly called Atheiſts or Deiſts, whoſe minds are not ſpoilt nor per-

d Luke xviii. 10, &c.

verted

verted by Superſtition, are more charitable and infinitely better men than they, whoſe minds are corrupted by the Vices and Cruelties, which are the natural effects of Superſtition. I ſay Deiſts, or Atheiſts; for that name is wrongly given to ſuch as deny Tradition; as if there was no way of coming at the knowledge of a Deity, without believing the moſt abſurd and abominable Fictions of Mankind. Such were thoſe delivered by Fohe to the Chineſe; † by Zertouſt to the Perſians; ‡ by Somonokodom to the Siameſe; ‖ by Breman to the Indians; * by Mahomet to the Arabians; † by Soſem to the Jews; and many others no leſs groſs and abſurd, which have infected Mankind by infuſing into them ridiculous, extravagant, and impious notions of God, which have made them the moſt wicked, cruel and intractable of all animals. But to ſay that Deiſts are Atheiſts is falſe; for they that are ſo called by the Vulgar, and by thoſe whoſe intereſt it is to decry them, admit a firſt cauſe under the names of God, Nature, Eternal Being, Matter, univerſal Motion or Soul. Such were Democritus, Epicurus, Diagoras, Lucian, Socrates, Anaxagoras, Seneca, Hobbes, Blount, Spinoſa, Vanini, St. Evremond, Bayle, Collins, and in general, all that go under the name of Speculative

† Le Comte nouveaux memoirs de la Chine.

‡ Sir Thomas Herber'ts Travels into Perſia and the Eaſt-Indies.

‖ Tachard, Voyage de Siam.

* Sir Thomas Herbert, ubi ſupra.

† Hen. Hottinger, Hiſt. Oriental. lib. 1. cap. 2. lib. 2. cap. 3.

lative Atheiſts; and none but fools or madmen can ever deny it. So that the word Atheiſt muſt ſignify Deiſt, or nothing. There being no ſuch thing as an Atheiſt in the world, as the Ignorant imagine, and the crafty Prieſts would have believed, when they brand with this odious name ſuch as detect their impoſtures, with deſign to expoſe them to the rage and fury of an incenſed populace. *

But to return. I ſay then that Chriſt daily performed acts of Charity, by healing the Sick, and doing good to Men. "He ſhewed his "great propenſity to Charity and Juſtice, "by refuſing to condemn the Adultreſs *a*," who was condemned by all the Jews, knowing ſhe had committed no greater a Crime, than what every one is continually committing either in thought or action. He eat and converſed familiarly with the Publicans and Poor, in order to convert the one, and comfort and aſſiſt the other. He uſed none of thoſe barbarous and inhuman methods practiſed by Prieſts in the converſion of Hereticks, Jews, and Infidels; "for he was "not cruel but merciful *b*." In ſhort, Chriſt, to ſhew the extenſiveneſs of his Charity and love to men, willingly ſuffered a thouſand torments, and a moſt ignominious and cruel Death to make them happy.

a John viii 7, &c.

b Mat. ix. 10, &c.

SUCH

* Vide Bayle's Penſees diverſes, chap 130, &c. Continuat. des Penſees diverſees, chap. 20, 21, 76, 143, 144, 145.

SUCH were the laws of Chriſt, ſuch his life and behaviour. He never was guilty of any action contrary to his laws, nor ever made any law contrary to his actions. And this is a plain and ſtrong proof, that Chriſt having enjoined us Poverty, Humility, Forgiveneſs, and Charity, had no thoughts of recommending to us the love of Riches, Ambition, Revenge, and Cruelty, as Prieſts, by execrably wreſting his words, pretend. For, in what part of the Goſpel ſhall we find, that he was rich, proud, revengeful, or cruel? No, we ſhall ſurely find that he was poor, humble, good, and charitable. Let us then cloſe this Diſcourſe with his very words; Obſerve my Commandments if ye love me *a*: that is, follow my Example, by renouncing the Vanity and Grandeur of this world; and if you would be my Diſciples, abhor Tyranny and Cruelty.

a John iv. 15.

DIS-

DISCOURSE II.

OF THE Manners and Doctrine of the APOSTLES and Primitive Chriſtians.



IN my firſt Diſcourſe we have ſeen what were the Laws of Chriſt, we ſhall now ſee what was the Doctrine that the Apoſtles taught the Heathens and Jews, and ſhall find it to be the very ſame they had learnt from Chriſt; and that if Chriſt preached by his good example in obſerving his own Laws, the Apoſtles were the genuine Imitators of Chriſt, by obeying his Commands.

WE read in the ſecond Book of Luke, "that the Apoſtles taught the People, ſome-"times in the Temple, ſometimes in private "houſes, and often elſewhere *a*". But as this Hiſtorian is more full as to their Actions than their Doctrine, and as I intend firſt to treat of the latter, I ſhall draw it from the Writings

a Acts v. 21, 42.

tings of the Apoſtles themſelves, and ſhew that they preached the very ſame, that Chriſt preached to them: happy had they been, had they added nothing to it! for they would have ſayed the Chriſtians many Calamities, as I ſhall prove in my fourth Diſcourſe. This then is the Doctrine they preached in conformity to that of Jeſus Chriſt.

"LET Love be without Diſſimulation: "love each other; be kindly affectioned one "to another with brotherly love; diſtribu- "ting to the neceſſities of the poor; given "to hoſpitality: bleſs them, which perſe- "cute you; bleſs and curſe not: be of the "ſame mind one to another; mind not high "things but condeſcend to men of low "eſtate. Avenge not yourſelves; if thine "Enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirſt, "give him drink: walk with all Lowlineſs "and Meekneſs, with Long-ſuffering, for- "bearing one another in love *a*. Put on "therefore bowels of Mercies, Kindneſs, "Humbleneſs of mind, Meekneſs, Long- "ſuffering: forbearing one another, and "forgiving one another, even as Chriſt for- "gave you: and above all things put on "Charity, which is the bond of Perfectneſs *b*. "They that will be rich fall into tempta- "tion, and a ſnare, and many fooliſh and "hurtful luſts, which drown men in deſtruc- "tion and perdition. For the love of Money "is the root of all Evil; flee theſe things, "and follow after Righteouſneſs, Godlineſs, "Love, Patience, Meekneſs *c*.

a Rom xii. 9, &c. Eph. iv. 2.

b Col. iii. 12, 13, 14.

c 1 Tim. vi. 9, 10, 11.

THESE

THESE were the orthodox inſtructions of Paul, I ſay orthodox, becauſe this good Apoſtle, being a great Divine, is often loſt in theological ſpeculations, and conſequently deviated from the ſimplicity of the Goſpel, as will appear in my fourth Diſcourſe. Peter and James taught the ſame, which I ſhall not mention, for the ſake of avoiding repetion; but let us ſee what John ſays. "He "that loveth not his brother, abideth in "death: and whoſoever hateth his brother "is a Murderer; hereby perceive we the "love of Chriſt, becauſe he laid down his "life for us, and we ought to lay down our "lives for the brethren: but who ſo hath "this world's good, and ſeeth his brother "hath need, and ſhutteth up his bowels of "compaſſion from him; how dwelleth the "love of God in him? let us not then "love our neighbour in word, but in deed: "he that calls himſelf a Chriſtian ought to "walk as he hath walked *a*." According to this Doctrine I am afraid it is morally impoſſible to find a Chriſtian in the world, unleſs amongſt the Savages,* who live without Ambition, and have every thing in common. It now remains for me to ſhew, that the Manners of the Apoſtles and primitive Chriſtians were every way anſwerable to that of Chriſt.

a 1 John iii. 15, &c. Ibid. ii. 6.

IN

* See a Deſcription of the Southermoſt parts of California, and its Inhabitants, by Capt. Shelvock. A Voyage round the world, chap. 13.

IN the Lives of the Apoſtles we read that "they continued in prayer with one mind" *a*; and that the new Converts "continued ſted-"faſtly in the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, and "in fellowſhip, breaking of bread". They all lived together in a ſtrict union, and had all things in common. They ſold their poſſeſſions, and parted them to all men, as every man had need. And "continuing daily "with one accord in the temple, and break-"ing bread from houſe to houſe, did eat "their meat with gladneſs, and ſingleneſs of "heart" *b*. They that believed in Chriſt were of one heart and one ſoul, neither ſaid any of them, that aught of the things they poſſeſſed, was his own, but they had all things in common. So that no man was indigent, or ſuffered, unleſs all of them were indigent and ſuffered at the ſame time. For, as we have obſerved, as many as were poſſeſſors of lands, houſes, or other effects, ſold them, and brought the prices of them into the ſociety of Chriſtians, which the Apoſtles diſtributed unto every man according to his need *c*. In this infant-commonwealth no man was diſtinguiſhed from another by any dignity, ſuperiority, or title, but all Chriſtians were equal, and called each other Brethren *d*.

a Acts i. 14

b Acts ii. 42, &c.

c Acts iv. 32, 34, 35.

d Acts xv, *& alibi paſſim.*

THE Apoſtles afterwards, with the conſent of all the Chriſtians, choſe ſeven men of integrity, who were appointed to diſtribute what the Faithful ſtood in need of, and were called Deacons, that is, Diſtributors. The

Apoſtles declined continuing in this office any longer, it being an obſtacle to them in preaching the Goſpel. For they thought preaching the Goſpel a more neceſſary duty than the diſtributing of the offerings. Their motive to this was their fear of growing in love with the riches of which they had the care, and this fondneſs might bring upon them a hankering after it, and a deſire of keeping the greateſt and beſt part to themſelves, and of graſping at more. A thing which at laſt was actually the caſe, when the Prieſts ſeiſed upon what belonged to the poor, as St. Gregory himſelf owned, in theſe words; "When we diſtribute what is neceſſary "to the poor, we give them what is really "their own, and rather do our duty, than "perform an act of mercy" *. The Apoſtles were apprehenſive that the neceſſity, which Chriſtians were under, of applying to them for what they ſtood in need of, might make them proud, and that pride might afterwards bring on a deſire of lording it over them; which would have ſubverted the ſyſtem of Chriſt. It was therefore to avoid theſe dangers, indeed almoſt unavoidable, that the Apoſtles diveſted themſelves of the adminiſtration of temporals, and upon theſe motives was it that the Apoſtles and primitive Chriſtians were ſo averſe to the heaping up riches. However, our modern Apoſtles and Chriſ-

* Cum nos neceſſaria indigentibus miniſtramus, ſua illis reddimus, juſtitiæque potius debitum, quam miſericordiæ opus implemus. Gregor. Paſt. admon. lib. 3.

Chriſtians are not ſo very timorous, for they prefer Grandeur, Pleaſure, and the conveniences of life to Poverty, and the fatigue of preaching the Goſpel, a function they leave to the indigent Clergy; I ſay indigent, becauſe ſuch of them as are rich, generally follow the example of their Superiors. The Apoſtles then, and primitive Chriſtians were poor, not that they wanted neceſſaries, but they held nothing as their own, every thing being in common. And this is what Chriſt intended to recommend to us by preaching Poverty. They were humble, charitable, and forgave their enemies: and if I were to give an account of all their acts of Humility, Charity, and Patience, to be found in the Acts of the Apoſtles, and other Eccleſiaſtical writers *, a large volume would hardly ſuffice; much leſs ſo ſhort a Diſcourſe as I here propoſe to make. I ſhall only obſerve then, that they cordially aſſiſted each other, and patiently bore ill uſage and perſecution, and went ſatisfied from the preſence of their judges, who had condemned them, ſuffering all things with pleaſure for the ſake of Jeſus Chriſt.

HAVING given the Reader a ſuccinct view of the Lives and Doctrine of the Apoſtles and primitive Chriſtians, I might here cloſe my Diſcourſe. But I cannot conclude it without firſt anſwering an Objection made

* Tertul. in Apologetico. Juſtin. Mart. in Apol. 1. & 2. pro Chriſtianis. Fleury des Mœurs des Chretiens.

by our modern Apoſtles and Diſciples, in order to palliate their actions, which are entirely oppoſite to the Laws of Chriſt. And they ſay they are not obliged to act in obedience to that paſſage in the Goſpel, commanding us to turn our right cheek to him, who ſhall ſmite us on the left. For, ſay they, we muſt diſtinguiſh between the moral rules of the Goſpel, and its precepts. That whoever has a mind to obſerve the former, ſhall do well, but he, who ſhall not, does no ill. For that Chriſt never intended to deprive Mankind of their natural right of ſelf-defence, nor to prevent any Chriſtian Society from making War upon another, whenever there might be an advantage in it: in a word, that all things are allowable againſt an open and declared enemy *.

THIS is the Divinity of our modern, vindictive Chriſtians. Such likewiſe, whoſe bile does not predominate, make uſe of much the ſame pretences to gloſs over their vices; and if a Jew, or Infidel ſhould reproach them with not following the example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, they anſwer, that it would be a prodigious preſumption in them to imitate Chriſt, who called in the aſſiſtance of his Divine Power to render his human actions perfect, and an unheard of impudence to pretend to imitate the Apoſtles, who were directed by the Holy Ghoſt. With theſe ſpe-

* Leſius de Juſt. lib. 2. cap. 9. Baldell. lib. 3. diſp. 24. Molina, tom. 4. tr. 3. diſp. 16.

ſpecious reaſons they live like David *, or Heliogabalus, and yet would be ſtiled Chriſtians *a*.

a See Bayle's continuation des Penſees diverſes, chap. 125.

To which I anſwer, firſt, that there is a wide difference, between the Counſels, or Admonitions of Chriſt, and his Precepts or Commandments; the latter being enjoined us upon pain of eternal damnation, to the tranſgreſſors of them, and the others given to ſuch only as will make uſe of them, and no puniſhment annexed to the breach of them. Chriſt, for inſtance, ſays to his Apoſtles; "Carry neither ſtaves, nor bread for "your journey *b*; and in another place, "Love your enemies, bleſs them that curſe "you *c*; for if ye forgive not men their "treſpaſſes, neither will your treſpaſſes be "forgiven *d*". Here every real good Chriſtian may diſtinguiſh the Precepts of Chriſt from his Advice. For he adviſes his Apoſtles to carry but one coat with them, becauſe they were to go a long journey on foot, ſo that had they carried any thing uſeleſs, they muſt have been incommoded with it. Wherefore Chriſt, who tenderly loved them, gave them this advice, as a good Father would have done to his Children on a like occaſion. And yet had the Apoſtles carried bread for their ſuſtenance, or a ſtaff to lean upon by the way, I do not apprehend that they would have deſerved puniſhment. But had

b Luke ix. 3. *c* Matth. v. 44. *d* Idem vi. 15.

* Vide Bayle's Dict. Art. David. and I ſhall not be thought in the wrong for ranking him with Heliogabalus.

they hated their enemies, or ſlain their Perſecutors, they could never have obtained remiſſion of their Sins, but have been condemned to eternal puniſhment, as Chriſt had threatened them. In the ſame manner has he threatened ſuch as ſhall not be humble and charitable *a*. Now it is certain that no legiſlator makes any law without annexing a puniſhment in order to enforce the obſervation of it. Chriſt therefore having ſo done, has declared which are his real Laws; and no man can ſtile himſelf a Chriſtian without obſerving them *b*.

a Matth. xxv. 46.

b John xv. 14.

IN the ſecond place I ſay, that if Chriſt, as God, had commanded impoſſibilities, he had been unjuſt, and cruel in condemning the innocent to eternal pain; and, as man, he had been mad, if, whilſt he was ſaying, I give you this example for your imitation, he knew no-body could imitate it. For, among the wiſe, that man would be deemed fit for a dark room and ſtraw, who, being in full gallop upon a ſtrong horſe, ſhould expect to be followed by children in the cradle.

A pretty idea of Chriſt this, which ſuch wicked Chriſtians muſt give Infidels by their pitiful excuſes! and yet Chriſt was neither mad, nor unjuſt, nor cruel, ſince his Laws are very eaſy to be obſerved. For not only the Apoſtles obſerved them, being inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, as thoſe falſe Chriſtians alledge in excuſe of themſelves, but they were likewiſe perfectly obſerved by the primitive Chriſ-

Chriſtians (tho' the tongues of fire deſcended not upon them *a*) till the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. Indeed they began to grow a little remiſs at that time, but ſtill they continued to lead good moral lives, during almoſt three Centuries *b*. In ſhort there have been, and ſtill are ſeveral Nations in the World, who have obſerved, and yet obſerve them very well, tho' they never heard of Jeſus Chriſt, and have no occaſion for a Reformation, becauſe they are at this time in a ſtate of innocence, by following the moſt ſacred Laws of Nature. Which Chriſt has declared to us in very plain and expreſs terms, where he tells us, that "they that be whole need "not a Phyſician, but they that are ſick: "I am not come to call the righteous, but "ſinners to repentance" *c*. By theſe words Chriſt informs us, that he came into the world to convert the wicked, and to heal the hearts of men corrupted by ambition, and avarice; and he likewiſe tells us at the ſame time, that "there were ſome, who "needed no converſion", becauſe they were juſt; and others, who had nothing to do with a Phyſician, becauſe they were in health. Theſe juſt, and healthy men, ſpoken of by Chriſt, are ſuch as live eaſy, without envy, luxury, or riches, and are ſtrangers to ſuperfluity or want, by making equity and juſtice the conſtant rule of their actions, holding every thing in common, and being all equal. Theſe happy people, whom they ſtile Savages, are the true children of Adam in a ſtate of innocence, and the true Diſciples of

a Acts ii. 3.

b See Baſnage, Hiſt. de l'Egliſe liv. 1. ch. 2, 3. and Fleury des mœurs des Chretiens, tit. 25, 26.

c Mat. ix. 12, 13.

of Chriſt. This is no new notion, but long ſince eſpouſed by one of the Fathers of the Church *a*.

a Vide Juſtin Mart. in Apol. 2. pro Chriſtianis

IF Chriſt then enjoined Humility and Charity, and was humble, and charitable; if the Apoſtles taught the Doctrine of Chriſt, and followed his example; and if the primitive Chriſtians were, for three hundred years, the Followers of the Apoſtles; we ought firmly to believe, that the Doctrines ſince taught, and which are abſolutely contrary to thoſe of Chriſt, the Apoſtles, and primitive Chriſtians, and that the Lives of our modern Chriſtians, ſo different from thoſe of Chriſt, and his primitive Diſciples. I ſay, we ought firmly to believe, that they are neither the ſame Doctrines, the ſame Practices; nor, in a word, the ſame Chriſtians. For, thoſe were humble, theſe proud and ambitious; thoſe were charitable, and deſpiſed riches; theſe are cruel, and avaritious; thoſe were meek, and patient, theſe are malicious, and revengeful; ſo that they ought to be ſtiled rather the Enemies of Chriſt, than his Diſciples.

AND yet Chriſt never enjoined any thing contrary to the laws of Nature, as we ſhall ſee in the following Diſcourſe, but ordained the wiſeſt of Laws, which, if univerſally obſerved *, Men would live in a perfect ſtate of

* I ſay univerſally obſerved: for were there a Society or Republic, however great it might be, that ſhould be inclined to obſerve the Laws of Chriſt, it would be overturned

of tranquility and happineſs. But, unhappily for them, it is no longer the mild Laws of Chriſt, which they practiſe, but thoſe of Prieſts his enemies; Laws, big with Cruelty, and Iniquity, which deprive Mankind of the Liberty granted by Nature, and by Chriſt, and make them the miſerable Slaves of their Ambition.

turned, and deſtroyed by the firſt invader, and they would be obliged for their own preſervation, to lay aſide the laws of Chriſt, or ſuffer themſelves to be deſtroyed by following them. In a word, a ſociety of true Chriſtians, were they as numerous as the whole Empire of China, could no more make head againſt a ſingle Infidel, who had a mind to plunder them, than an hundred thouſand Rabbits could make head againſt a hungry Lion, that ſhould fall in among them. But if all Men, without exception, were good Chriſtians, it is moſt ſure they would be exceeding happy. For, being without Ambition, Envy, and Revenge, nothing would be capable of diſturbing their Quiet. Here on Conſult. Bayle's Penſees diverſes, chap. 141. Continuation des Penſees diverſes, chap. 123, 124.

DIS-



DISCOURSE III.

That the Religion of CHRIST differs not from the Religion of Nature.

ALL Chriſtians are, or think themſelves acquainted with the motive for Chriſt's coming into the World, but few are ſenſible of the indiſpenſible obligation he was under of ordaining thoſe Laws, of which I have given the Reader a view in my firſt Diſcourſe. And yet without them his Death had been of no advantage to Mankind, ſo that Chriſt would not have obtained his aim and deſign in it. For what would it have ſignified to Mankind to have obtained the pardon of Original Sin *, and have been dam-

* I have grounded this Diſcourſe upon the principle of Original Sin, and of the Redemption *Sed qui habet aures audiendi, audiat.* Mat. xiii. 9.

amned for freſh crimes, had not Chriſt by is Precepts given them the means neceſſary or avoiding eternal Damnation? and of what uſe would Chriſt's Precepts have been o Man, had he not died to free us from Original Sin? Wherefore I ſay that Chriſt's Death, and his Laws were both neceſſary to make Men for ever happy, ſince by the former they obtained the Remiſſion of Sin, of which Adam, by committing it, had rendered them guilty, and by the latter, they were taught what they were to do, to avoid falling into freſh faults. This ſhall be the ſubject of my third Diſcourſe, the more ſtill to convince Mankind of the goodneſs of our great Legiſlator's Laws and Deſigns.

THE Founder of the Chriſtian Commonwealth foreſeeing that his Death alone would not be ſufficiently effectual towards curing the inveterate corruption of Man's heart, and propoſing to make the Happineſs of Mankind laſting, left them moſt excellent Laws before he died, that by obeying them they might continue in that happy condition, wherein he had reinſtated them by his Death. Theſe Laws, were we not to conſider them as Divine, yet ought to be reſpected as ſuch, as being founded upon Equity *a*, the baſis of the Laws of Nature, which are thoſe of God. Chriſt therefore by his Death had no other intention than that of reſtoring Mankind to that ſtate of Innocence, in which Adam was, before he had ſinned, and by his Laws, of maintaining them in that felicity,

a *Prima enim pars æquitatis eſt æqualitas.* Senec. Epiſt. 30.

licity, which he had procured them by his Death.

ADAM, before his Diſobedience, was ſubjected to no other laws, than the reſt of the animal creation was, each in his ſeveral kind *a*: and at the Redemption, according to Paul, returned to Adam's firſt condition *b*. As a puniſhment for his crime, Adam and all his poſterity were condemned to die *, and ſubject to the ſevere law of "eating "their Bread in the ſweat of their brow †, "they being become the ſlaves of Sin": in the ſtate of Grace, men were freed from this Slavery, and became the ſervants of God *c*: that is, as the Apoſtle tells us, they were delivered from the curſe of thoſe laws, to which they had been ſubjected by Adam's tranſgreſſion, in order to live according to the laws of Nature, which God had given to Man at his Creation *d*. But, as it was impoſſible for Chriſt, by his Death, to place Mankind a ſecond time in the ſtate of Nature, conſidering how long they had been habi-

a *Fœtificate, & augeſcite terram & aquas.* Gen. i. 25, 28.

b Rom. v. and vi.

c Rom. vi. 22.

d *Chriſtus nos redemit de maledictione legis, &c.* Gal. iii. 13.

* We muſt here underſtand, what is not to be underſtood: viz. that eternal death of the Soul, whereof Paul ſpeaks, Rom. vi. 23. for otherwiſe we muſt believe a very great abſurdity, were we to believe that Men would have been immortal, had not Adam eaten of the forbidden fruit: it being impoſſible for a finite ſpace, ſuch as the ſurface of the Earth, to contain an infinite number of men. † *In ſudore vultus tui veſcitor cibo.* Gen. iii. 19. not that we are to believe this puniſhment was inflicted on all the race of Mankind, for we ſhould then believe the falſeſt thing in the world, ſince there has always been a great number, who have lived in the greateſt affluence and luxury, without taking the leaſt pains.

habituated to ſinning, which had ſo corrupted their minds, that they had no idea of a ſtate of Innocence, Jeſus Chriſt, pitying their ignorance, and reſolving to reform them by his laws, again taught them the laws of Nature; that, by knowing the beauty and excellence of them, they might likewiſe be ſenſible of the neceſſity they were under of obſerving them, to put an end to their miſery. Such was the intention of Chriſt in the eſtabliſhment of his Laws. Let us now compare them with thoſe of Nature, and by their reſemblance we ſhall find they are the ſame.

CHRIST enjoined Humility and Poverty, that Men might enter into the kingdom of Heaven, that is, into the ſtate of Innocence, in which Adam was before his tranſgreſſion, who obeyed the ſole laws of Nature. Chriſt having delivered Man from the yoke of Original Sin, and being himſelf poor and humble, as he had commanded him to be, Man would again have been in the ſtate of Nature, in which is neither ambition, nor riches, and would have really entered into the kingdom of Heaven, by obeying the laws of Nature, ordained from all Eternity by the Supreme Being. For we are not to form to ourſelves wild and ridiculous fancies of the kingdom of Heaven, like Fanatics, who fill their minds with vain and unintelligible imaginations, capable of turning Mens brains, without being of any ſervice to them, as Chriſt has very clearly explained to us, when he tells us, that the kingdom of God

God is not a kingdom we are to wait for, or to be found out and diſtinguiſhed by its novelty, it being always with us [a], when we obey the Divine Laws; and Chriſt then told the Phariſees it was amongſt them, becauſe he taught them the Laws of Nature, which are thoſe of God: ſo that the Phariſees might then immediately have entered into the kingdom of Heaven, by embracing Chriſt's Doctrine.

[a] *Interrogatus autem a Phariſeis, quando venit regnum Dei? non venit regnum Dei cum obſervatione; neque dicent, ecce hic, aut ecce illic; ecce enim regnum Dei intra vos eſt.* Luc. xvii. 20, 21

ADAM and his deſcendants, had he not ſinned, would not have been obliged to work for their living; Jeſus having reſtored Men to the ſtate of Grace, has alſo delivered them from the penalty of labour, as he expreſsly declared to his Diſciples, ſaying; "Take no thought for your life, what ye "ſhall eat, or what ye ſhall drink; be- "hold the fowls of the air, for they ſow "not, neither do they reap; nor gather into "barns; and yet your heavenly Father "feedeth them; are not ye much better "than they? and why take ye thought for "raiment? conſider the lillies of the field "how they grow; they toil not, neither "do they ſpin. And yet Solomon in all his "Glory was not arrayed like one of theſe *. "Wherefore if Nature ſo clothe" the graſs of

* Chriſt ſaid this to make Men ſenſible of the bounty and perfection of Nature, and of the felicity enjoyed by all Creatures that live under her mild and equitable laws, whereof Man is deprived by fooliſhly laying himſelf under a thouſand wants, which human Nature requires not, but are a burthen and damage to her.

of the field, which is ſo inconſiderable in compariſon of you, will ſhe not much more clothe you? "O ſenſeleſs, and of little faith! "therefore take no thought, ſaying; what "ſhall we eat, or what ſhall we drink? for "after theſe things do Unbelievers ſeek, as "being ſtill ſlaves to Sin; but ye, who "are redeemed, ought not. For your hea-"venly Father * knoweth what ye have need "of, and out of his infinite goodneſs grants "you them. Seek ye therefore firſt the "kingdom of God, and his Righteouſneſs, "and all theſe things ſhall be added unto "you *a* ". That is, deſire and endeavour to enter into the ſtate of Nature, wherein Juſtice reigns, and no man enjoys ſuperfluities, but only what is neceſſary for the preſervation of life, and you will want nothing.

a Mat. vi. 25, &c.

MEN, in the ſtate of Innocence, ought all to be equal, and each of them freely enjoy the fruits, and various productions of Nature. In the ſame manner Chriſt enjoined his Diſciples an equality, and community of goods †. In the ſtate of Nature, men being

* It is proper to obſerve that Chriſt often calls Men the Sons of God in an allegorical ſenſe, juſt as he often calls Himſelf the Son of God. And this is true, if underſtood in that ſenſe. For all Beings deriving from one firſt Being, commonly ſtiled GOD, and ſometimes NATURE, we may juſtly call ourſelves his Children. See Luke xx. 36. Mat. vi. 14, *&c.* *& alibi paſſim.*

† *Sic ergo omnis ex vobis, nemine excepto, qui non renuntiat omnibus quæ poſſidet, non poteſt meus eſſe Diſcipulus.*

ing void of ambition, and enjoying all things neceſſary in abundance, had no quarrels nor diſſenſions amongſt each other, which are occaſioned by riches and poverty, and theſe by the inequality there is among Men: becauſe ſome having too much, and others little, or nothing, the ambition and inhumanity of the one, and the envy and preſſing neceſſities of the other, give riſe to all ſorts of diſorders. Now in a ſociety where there is an equality in every thing and every body, and where neceſſaries are not wanting, there muſt conſequently be peace and quiet; with ſubmiſſion to the learned Hobbes *, who pre-

pulus. Luc. xiv. 33. xxii. 24, &c. And in many other paſſages quoted in my firſt, and ſecond Diſcourſes.

* *Negari non poteſt, quin ſtatus hominum naturalis, antequam in ſocietatem coiretur, Bellum fuerit, neq; hoc ſimpliciter, ſed Bellum omnium iu omnes. De Cive, Tit. Libertat. cap.* 1. *Sect.* 12. By the word *Societas* we may ſee that Hobbes did not thoroughly conſider the ſtate of Nature: for he ſuppoſes that Men, who have no form of civil Government among them, are unſociable, in the ſame manner as if each of them were of a different ſpecies. But this is the thing in which he is miſtaken; becauſe Savages, and Brutes of the ſame ſpecies, that follow the laws of Nature only, are more ſociable among themſelves, than men that are civilized: ſince they live together with great kindneſs and cordiality, and obſerve the laws of equity in every thing; each enjoying the fruits of the earth, and their females, and ſuffering the reſt to do ſo, without envy, or ambition, being all equal, and having every thing in common. They defend each other in a body, when attacked, aud charge their enemies, or fly all together, according to the occaſion. Wherefore this word *ſocietas*, that is *unio*, belongs as well or better to Savages, and Brutes of the ſame ſpecies, than to men that live under civil Governments, as I ſhall prove in my tenth Diſcourſe.

pretends to prove that in the ſtate of Nature Men are always at daggers-draw with each other, becauſe the principle he builds upon is falſe; by ſuppoſing a multitude already corrupted by the notion of *meum* and *tuum*, and conſequently by luxury and ambition, inſtead of a plain and ſimple multitude, following the all-wiſe laws of Nature. For where there is no inequality, there is neither emulation nor envy; and where there is no envy there is no ambition; and where there is no ambition there are no diſſenſions: ſo that the quiet of ſuch a number of men can never be diſturbed, unleſs they ſhould come to want neceſſaries, and that indeed might happen, were they confined to any little corner of the Globe, by a dearth, or by ſharp and exceſſive cold, or by extreme heat, or drowth, or by an inundation, or ſuch like accidents. In this caſe as proviſions, or neceſſaries might fail them, and they could not ſtir out of the place to which they were confined, in order to ſeek them elſewhere, it is moſt certain that ſuch a dearth would force them upon precautions againſt hunger, and the neceſſity of ſuch precautions might make them pillage one another, and that might produce quarrelling among them, and all the conſequences of it. But if by the word Multitude we underſtand a whole Species, that is, all the race of Mankind, who have the whole Earth beſtowed among them, and every man a right of ranging it all over in ſearch of neceſſaries, in the ſame manner as all other Animals, each according to his kind,

are allowed to do; we ſhall find that the only cauſe capable of creating quarrels among them, will no longer ſubſiſt. For Nature has, by her eternal and immutable laws, ſo well provided againſt all accidents, that a general dearth never happens, ſo that whenever the Earth is barren one year in one place, ſhe is fruitful in another; and thus what is wanting in one place, is to be found in another in abundance; and the ſuperfluity, which they who are in a country that is fruitful, enjoy, is more than ſufficient to ſupply ſuch, whoſe country has been barren, or laboured under any of thoſe misfortunes before mentioned, it being impoſſible for ſuch accidents to be univerſal.

FOR, the reaſon given by ſuch as have laid hands on the neceſſaries belonging to others, viz. that the Earth produces not enough for all Men, is ridiculous, wicked and impious. It is ridiculous, and weak, as experience is againſt it; for a dearth was never known in one place, but it was likewiſe known that there was a great abundance in another: it is impious, as it overturns Providence, and the infinite goodneſs of God, by ſuppoſing him to have created Beings purely to make them miſerable. Yes, I will maintain it is impious, againſt the opinion of our Divines, who pretend that God can do what he pleaſes with his creatures, by making an ill uſe of that paſſage of Paul, where he compares God to a Potter, and Mankind to his Veſſels, ſaying; That as the

the Potter is allowed out of the ſame earth to make Veſſels, ſome of which may be put to honourable uſes, and others to diſhonourable, ſo God may create Men, either to ſave or damn them afterwards, to the end that He may have proper ſubjects whereon to diſcharge his wrath, exerciſe his mercy, or manifeſt his omnipotence *a*. But had our Doctors been pleaſed to examine Paul's intent in this compariſon, they would have found he meant quite another thing. For it is impoſſible for this good Apoſtle, who, ſay they, was inſpired, and had been taken up into the third Heaven, nay even into the Empyræum itſelf, as he himſelf aſſures us *, and conſequently ſhould have had juſt notions of the Deity, to have made a compariſon ſo low, and ſo little ſuitable to the Divine Majeſty, as our Prieſts pretend, by the wrong and wicked ſenſe they give it. For tho' God's Power be abſolute, he cannot do things repugnant to his Attributes, and that are contradictory in themſelves, and incompatible.

a Rom ix 17, &c.

FOR inſtance, he cannot make a Triangle to be a Square, or a Globe a Pyramid; that a Stick ſhall be without ends; that the Fire

* *Scio hominem in Chriſto ante annos quatuordecim, raptum hujuſmodi uſque ad tertium Cælum, & ſcio hujuſmodi hominem, quo raptus eſt in Paradiſum; & audivit arcana verba, quæ non licet homini loqui.* 2 Cor. i. 2, 3, 4. As for myſelf, I make no difficulty of believing him upon his word, provided that our modern Aſtronomers will give me leave.

ſhall freeze, or Ice burn; that Wine ſhall be Blood, or the crumb of Bread a Man. That a large ball of an hundred pound weight may be divided into three balls, each of which ſhall be of the ſame bigneſs and weight as the large one, and that theſe three too ſhall weigh but an hundred pounds amongſt them, and that they ſhall be but one ſingle ball. Strange Nonſenſe! God, I ſay, cannot make the Whole leſs than part of that Whole, or the contained leſs than the containing, or the effect go before its cauſe, and ſuch like *.

IN the ſame manner God can do nothing contrary to his infinite Goodneſs and Juſtice, as our Divines inſiſt by the wrong ſenſe they put upon Paul's words, whereby they prophane the Majeſty of God, and annihilate the Deity, by deſtroying his Attributes and Perfections. Since according to the opinion of one of the Fathers of the Church ‖, "If God be not One only and perfect, as he "ought to be, he is not at all, for we think it "more honourable not to be at all, than to "be otherwiſe than we ought to be." This is what I am going to prove, by examining the Apoſtle's compariſon, according to the wrong and

* As it is ſaid that the Light preceded the two great Luminaries, whereby it was to be produced. Light being created the firſt day, and the other two the fourth. Gen. i. 3, 4, 5, 16, 17, 18, 19.

‖ *Deus ſi non unus eſt, non eſt, quia dignius credimus non eſſe, quodcunque non fuerit, ut eſſe debebit.* Tertul. *contra* Marci. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 3.

and impious interpretation given of it by our Divines.

First then I ſay, that it is a moſt horrid prophanation to compare God, who is a moſt perfect Being, to Man, who is an animal full of defects; and a great abſurdity likewiſe to compare the Creator with the creature. And indeed would it not be abſurd and ridiculous to compare the Potter with his pots? In the ſecond place I ſay, that had the Potter a mind to fill part of his veſſels with all kind of filth, and another with all the perfumes of Aſia, or had he a mind to break ſome, and leave the reſt whole, he might do it if he pleaſed; he would not be the leſs a Potter for that, and thoſe pots would feel no more pleaſure or pain from their being put to honourable or infamous uſes, or their being broken to pieces, or remaining whole, they being ſenſeleſs Beings. But had God reſolved to create ſome Men to make them happy, and others to make them unhappy, to ſhew forth the Glory of his Omnipotence; in this caſe I maintain he would have been unjuſt, and cruel; and conſequently, would not be that God infinitely juſt and merciful, whom we adore. For, where could he better exerciſe his infinite Juſtice and Goodneſs, than upon that Creature which he had formed after his own Image? *a* endowed with a Divine quality *, *a* Gen. i. 27

* The Immortality both of Soul and Body after the general Reſurrection, as our Divines will perſuade us to believe.

a Gen. i. 28,29,30. and for whom he created all the reſt? *a* how could he make his infinite Juſtice ſhine forth with a ſtronger light, than by making the moſt * perfect of his creatures happy for ever? and how could he have more plainly diſcovered his Cruelty and Injuſtice, than by making Creatures eternally miſerable, whom he might have made eternally happy.

To this, I know, it will be anſwered; that God has made Men miſerable, only to puniſh them for their Wickedneſs: but this does not remove the difficulty. For, what ſhould we ſay of a Father, who ſhould carry his children to the brink of a precipice, ſee them fall without giving them the leaſt aſſiſtance, when he might reſcue them, and afterwards puniſh them for breaking their legs and arms by the fall? we ſhould ſay he was a very wicked father, who deſerved to be ſeverely puniſhed, for being the ſole and voluntary cauſe of his childrens misfortune.

JUST ſo, God might have created Adam without that principle of diſobedience, or the leaſt ſeed of wickedneſs. He might have done it, becauſe he is almighty, and ought to have done it, becauſe, himſelf being moſt perfect, his works ought to be ſo too: and being infinitely good, methinks, his Goodneſs ought

* If I ſay the moſt perfect, it is in complaiſance to the reigning opinion, which is not mine. For, I ſhall ſhew in my tenth Diſcourſe, that Men in general are more defective, and have leſs Reaſon than any other Animals.

ought chiefly to extend itſelf over the moſt perfect of his works. And let it not be objected, that it was neceſſary there ſhould be Evil, that God might manifeſt his Juſtice: for, would not that Prince be a cruel Monſter, who ſhould force his ſubjects to act wickedly, to ſhew his Juſtice in puniſhing them? would an able Phyſician be allowed to poiſon a whole Nation, to let them ſee he could cure all ſorts of poiſons? No, Man is not allowed to commit evil that good may come of it: but it is impoſſible for God to commit evil, as he is a moſt perfect Being. It would then be an extreme impiety to ſay, that God had out of his great goodneſs provided every thing neceſſary for all other Animals, and had left Man wholly unprovided for: and we ſhould believe a thing moſt contradictory in itſelf, were we to believe that the whole Univerſe was created for the ſervice of Man, and yet, that he alone ſhould want neceſſaries, at the ſame time that the Supreme Being ſuffered not other Creatures, much inferior to him, to be without them. Having thus juſtified Paul againſt the calumnies of our Doctors, I return to my Subject.

If Hobbes then had thoroughly examined this important matter, I am certain he would have altered his opinion. Witneſs the antient inhabitants of the Canary-Iſlands, who, before they were diſcovered by the Chriſtians, had always lived in the bleſſed ſtate of Nature. For, they fed upon herbs,

and

and fruits, lay upon leaves in the foreſts, went naked, and their Women, and all other things were in common amongſt them: they feared not the inclemencies of the weather, being accuſtomed to them from their birth; they ſpoilt not their ſtomachs by a variety of meats, and drinks, and by exceſs; they added not daily to their neceſſities, like men corrupted by luxury: but following the plain ſimple laws of Nature, lived in full eaſe and content *.

THIS is a true picture of the ſtate of Innocence, wherein Adam lived, before he had ſinned. Many other Nations both in Africa and America †, may ſerve as a proof of what I advance, who were happy, as long as they followed the laws of Nature; and their happineſs might perhaps have laſted to this day, had no Chriſtians gone to diſturb their repoſe, in order to ſatisfy their inſatiable avarice, and ambition. Beſides, Experience teaches us, that the inhabitants of the woods, and mountains, are more human, and conſequently happier than thoſe that live in cities, becauſe they are not abſolute ſtrangers to the ſimplicity of Nature, as the others are. Witneſs the antient Britons, whoſe conſtitutions were ſo ſtrong, that many of them lived to an hundred and twenty. Their ſobriety

* Sir Thomas Herbert's Travels into Perſia, and the Eaſt-Indies. Book 1.

† See Dampier's Deſcription of Africa. Bartholomeo de las Caſas, deſtruycion de las Indias. Rochefort, Hiſt. des Iſles Antilles, lib. 2. chap. 13.

briety and temperance contributed more to their long lives, than the air of the Country. The uſe of Clothes was almoſt unknown all over the Iſland. There were none but the Inhabitants of the Weſtern coaſts that covered their Nakedneſs, by the means of certain ſkins fitted to their bodies without any ſhape, rather not to offend the ſight of thoſe ſtrangers that traded with them, than to ward off the cold. Their dwellings were in the woods, in huts, covered with ſkins, and branches of trees, or moſs. They generally lived upon the milk of their flocks, and wild game, which they found in abundance, in the woods, and fields. This way of life, ſo ſimple, and ſo far removed from the luxury of other Nations, did not prevent their being of a more lively ſubtle genius, than the Gauls their Neighbours. Diodorus the Sicilian, has made no difficulty of preferring them to the Romans in regard to the integrity of their manners. They had one very particular cuſtom among them, which appeared horrible to other nations, though they themſelves looked upon it as very innocent. They lived, ten or twelve families together in one habitation, where the Women were in common, even among Brothers: this cuſtom remained long amongſt them.

THE Britons were beſides brave, and went to battle with great intrepidity. Their temper was mild and humane; it is true that they were cruel to their Priſoners of war, for they ſacrificed them to ANDATE the Goddeſs of

of Victory *a*. But tho' they were guilty of ſo great a cruelty, it was from the misfortune they were under of ſuffering themſelves to be infatuated by the Druids their Prieſts; a misfortune which almoſt all the People of the Earth have laboured under. What I have been ſaying ought to convince us, that ſo long as men follow the laws of Nature, they are happy, and moſt miſerable, whenever they abandon them.

a Rapin's Hiſtory of England, Tome 1. p. 6, &c.

FOR theſe motives Chriſt ſaid; "Bleſſed are the pure in heart, for they ſhall ſee God *b*: bleſſed be ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of heaven *c*: but wo unto you that are rich, for ye have received your conſolation *d*:" wherefore ye ſhall not enter into the kingdom of God, for you cannot be his ſervants, if you are ſlaves to riches. For, he commands you to be humble and charitable, and they, on the contrary, fill you with a ſpirit of Pride and Cruelty. By theſe laws Chriſt propoſed the reſtoring Man to the ſtate of Innocence; nor did he enjoin any thing againſt the laws of Nature, (as many think) by commanding us to forgive Offences. For, he left us this Commandment, in order to root out of the heart of Man that Hatred and Revenge, to which they had been encouraged by the written law, as a puniſhment for the Original Sin. Thus Chriſt endeavoured by theſe Precepts to free us from the ſlavery of the Law, as evidently appears by his words: "Ye know, ſaid he, that Moſes commanded you

b Mat. v. 8.
c Luke vi. 20.
d Luke vi. 24.

" you to hate your enemies *a*, but I com- *a* Levit.
" mand you to love them *." This in- xix. 18.
junction is agreeable to the deſigns of Chriſt: for, as by his death he had replaced Mankind in

* Matth. v. 43, 44. It is generally ſaid, and thought, that Chriſt aboliſhed not the written Law, becauſe he ſays, " Think not I am come to deſtroy the Law, and " Prophets; I am not come to deſtroy but to fulfil them". Mat. v. 17. But if we conſider Chriſt's motives for this declaration, and examine his actions, we ſhall think quite otherwiſe. For, Chriſt, for two reaſons, declared he intended not to aboliſh the Law: firſt, becauſe he knew he ſhould have been put to death, as an enemy to the ſtate, if he had declared that he intended to overturn the Religion and the eſtabliſhed Laws; and ſhould have had no time to ſpread his Doctrine. Secondly, becauſe he was acquainted with the maxims that all Reformers muſt obſerve in order to bring about their deſigns, which is, that whoever would reform the government of a State, muſt always leave the appearance of the antient laws, whilſt he is ſetting up new. For, tho' they may be quite contrary to the old, they ſtill will be agreeable, and well received by the people, if they perceive no alteration; they being ever fond of the old ones, not that they are apprized of the goodneſs, or uſefulneſs of them, but only becauſe they are accuſtomed to them. Macchiav. Diſc. lib. I. chap. 25. It was upon theſe two cogent reaſons that Chriſt declared, that he intended not to aboliſh the Law, tho' at the bottom, and in reality, he has turned it topſy-turvy, as we may perceive by his actions. For he commanded us to forgive our enemies, and the Law commanded their extermination. Deut. xxxi. 5. He ſlighted the Sabbath-day, by working upon it himſelf, and approved his Diſciples actions, who had prophaned it. Mat. xii. 1, &c. Luke xiii. 10, &c. John v. 5, &c. And yet the keeping holy the Sabbath was expreſſly enjoined by the Law. Ex. xx. 10. xxi. 13. In a word, Chriſt aboliſhed all the Precepts, all the Ceremonies, and all the Sacrifices inſtituted by Moſes under very ſevere penalties. Deut. xxx. 15, &c. by declaring the whole Law conſiſted in loving God above all things, and our neighbour as our ſelf. Mat. xxii. 37, &c.

in the ſtate of Nature, where, even according to Paul's ſentiments, there are no quarrels nor diſſenſions *a*: he endeavoured by this precept to cure the corruption of his heart, with deſign to ſettle and fix him in that ſtate. This is a precept too, which is perfectly agreeable to humane Nature, for, Man being endowed with Reaſon, would he but make uſe of it, it is certain he would never do to others, what he would not have done to himſelf; as Chriſt commanded him *b*, with deſign to make him again employ the faculty of reaſoning, of which he had been deprived by his tranſgreſſion.

a Rom. iv. 15.

b Matth. vii. 12.

IN the ſtate of Nature, Adam had the laws of God graved in his heart. In that of Grace, according to what Paul teaches us *c*, Chriſt placed the laws of God in the mind of Man a ſecond time, and imprinted them on his heart, and has by his death aboliſhed the enmity, that is, the laws of the Commandments *d*, which created enmities, as being defective. For, had the laws of the Old Teſtament been without faults, we had no occaſion, as the ſame Apoſtle tells us, for thoſe of the New *: which are perfect, and graved in the heart of Man, being the very laws of Nature herſelf.

c Heb. viii. 10, &c.

d Eph. ii. 14, 15, 16.

IT was by theſe laws that Chriſt propoſed to reſtore Mankind to the Happineſs they had

* *Nam ſi illud prius culpa vacaſſet, non utiq; ſecundi locus inquireretur*, Heb. viii. 7.

had loſt; ſince by commanding Poverty, Humility, and Forgiveneſs, he extinguiſhed the deſire of growing rich, Ambition and Revenge in the heart of his true Diſciples, which are the cauſe of all Evil, and reſtored them to the ſtate of Innocence by delivering them from the Curſe of the Laws of Moſes, which had made Men rapacious, ambitious, and revengeful, in order to puniſh them for the fault of Adam, as Paul aſſures us, ſaying; that "the Law was given as a puniſhment for tranſgreſſion, till Chriſt came, "to be a Guide to conduct us to him; but "now that Chriſt is come, we are no longer "under the Law, but are all the children "of God by Faith in Jeſus Chriſt *a*." That is, we are the children of God, by obeying the laws of Nature, given by him to Adam, and his poſterity before his tranſgreſſion, which we are to obey, being again reſtored to a ſtate of Grace by Chriſt our Saviour.

a Gal. iii. 19, 24, 25, 26.

Such were the laws of Chriſt, bearing an exact reſemblance to thoſe of Nature, whereby he propoſed to ſettle a perfect Democracy amongſt Men, the only method he could take to make them happy. To this end he introduced a community of goods, baniſhed luxury and riches, and ordained that no man ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from another *: well knowing that in a Government really Democratical, Men ought to have all things in com-

* See the firſt Diſcourſe upon the precept of Humility.

common, and be all equal; no father muſt know his children, nor the child his father, as ſuch a ſuperiority and knowledge could not ſuit with that community of goods, and that equality, which are the baſis of a Commonwealth. For a thirſt after riches and power, does not ſo much proceed from the love of ourſelves, as of our children and other deſcendants; and from thence ſprings emulation and envy between families. For as they all are deſirous of leaving their children eaſy, they all endeavour to raiſe great eſtates; but as all of them cannot do it equally, but, on the contrary, a ſmall number only, and the reſt remain poor; this inequality puts the rich, who are ever ambitious, upon diſtinguiſhing themſelves from the reſt, and this ambition of being ſomething more than others, goes on encreaſing, in proportion to the encreaſe of their wealth; ſo that the Democracy in a ſhort time changes into an Oligarchy. For the poor, who are the greateſt number, grow timorous and humble; and the rich, who are the ſmalleſt, grow bold and aſſuming, and arrogant, becauſe with their money they buy the votes of the people, and hinder the freedom of elections. By theſe means they got the chief poſts and honours into their hands, and conſequently the whole authority of the Commonwealth. Now tho' a Government may ſtill be called Popular, yet it is moſt certainly no longer ſuch, but Oligarchical, whenever the whole Power devolves upon a ſmall number of the moſt powerful fa-

families, which hold all the reſt in a dependance. Witneſs the Republics of Swizzerland, and Geneva, which, notwithſtanding their intention of ſetting up a popular Government, have never been able to accompliſh it, they never having employed the proper means for it. And whenever it happens, as neceſſarily it muſt, that one of theſe Chief men in the ſtate grows above the reſt in riches and power, the Oligarchy generally turns to a Tyranny. For, this chief Man endeavouring to diſtinguiſh himſelf from the other Chiefs, who are not ſo rich as himſelf, he at laſt by his power * makes himſelf abſolute Maſter of the Commonwealth, as did Cæſar at Rome †, and Coſmo of Medicis at Florence ‖.

For theſe moſt important reaſons, Men, in a government really Democratical, ought to be all equal, that is, they ought all to have a ſhare in the Magiſtracy, hold employments, enjoy honours, and all other prerogatives every one in his turn; and children ought to acknowledge no other Fathers than the Commonwealth, or Fathers of their Country:

* Coſmo of Medicis, the Founder of the grandeur of his family, grew into ſuch reputation by his own abilities, and the ſtupidity of his fellow-citizens, that he began to make himſelf formidable to the Commonwealth. Machiav. Diſcourſe, lib. I. chap. 33.

† Tit. Liv. Decad. 12. lib. 6. Sueton. in Julio Cæſare.

‖ Machiav. Hiſtory of Florence, lib. 6 and 7. See alſo Bodinus de Republica, lib. 5. cap. 4.

Country: Truths, which Chriſt was well ſatisfied of, by his ſaying to his Diſciples, "It "is enough for the Diſciple that he be as his "Maſter, and the Servant as his Lord *a*: "for he that is greateſt among you ſhall "be your ſervant *b*:" And in another place he ſays; "Call no man your Father upon "the Earth; for one is your Father, which "is in Heaven, and ye are all Brethren *c*.

a Matth. x. 25.

b Matth. xxiii 11.

c Id. ib. 8, 9.

SUCH is the true form of a perfect Democratical government, in which men ought to command and obey by turns, and where fathers ought not to know their very children, that they may love them all equally, nor children their fathers, that they may love and reſpect them all indifferently.

UPON theſe motives the wiſe Legiſlator of Sparta *d*, ordered all the Lacedemonian children to be brought up in common, that they might have the ſame love and reſpect for the Commonwealth which had educated them, as they would have had for their natural parents if they had known them: and that parents, not knowing their own children, might love them all without partiality. This is the only bleſſing that is capable of keeping up Peace and Concord amongſt men in ſociety; inſtead of which we ſee nothing but Envy, Hatred, and Inhumanity predominate, whereſoever an equality and community of goods are not ſettled.

d *Plutarc. in Lycurgo.*

BE-

ESIDES, ſuch a knowledge would be con-
ry not only to Chriſt's political ſyſtem, or
rfect Democracy which he propoſed to eſtab-
h amongſt Men, but would be repugnant to
s moral ſyſtem, which conſiſts in that love
d charity that each man ought to have for
s neighbour. For, how is it poſſible for a
an to love and aſſiſt his neighbour, as Chriſt
rdains *, when his love extends no farther
an his children, deſcendants, and relations?
xperience ſhews us the impoſſiblity of it,
onſidering the common excuſe that men al-
dge, that they cannot aſſiſt their neighbour,
ey being bound to provide for their families,
d as this proviſion has never any certain
ounds, it is the cauſe of a moſt horrid rapine
mong them, from their inſatiable deſire of
nriching their families, and the means they
ake to ſatisfy it, which are unjuſt and always
ernicious to the Publick. So that with the
ricteſt regard to truth, it may be ſaid; that
his knowledge, and this property, were the
auſes that firſt made Men ambitious, covetous,
nd conſequently inhuman as we find, towards
eir neighbour. It is therefore that we may
ery properly ſay, *Gens contra gentem*, or,
ellum omnium in omnes, and not in ſpeaking
f the ſtate of Nature, as Hobbes, and all who
o not lay aſide their prejudices, before they
xamine into things, pretend.

CHRIST, who was well acquainted with all
theſe inconveniences, and who by his laws

 propoſed

* *Dilige proximum tuum, ſicut teipſum.* Mat. xxii. 39.

propoſed to replace Man in the ſtate of Innocence, in which Adam was before his ſinning, declared, that none could be his Diſciples, that is, that none can enter into the ſtate of Nature, without hating thoſe names * of father, mother, wife, children, brothers, and ſiſters †, becauſe they extinguiſh in man's heart that reciprocal love which they ought to have for each other, acording to the Inſtitutions of Chriſt, and are abſolutely repugnant to the nature of a popular Government.

WHEREFORE Chriſt, intending to ſet us an example, refuſed to acknowledge his Mother, and Brothers; but, pointing to his Diſciples, ſaid; behold "my Mother, and "my Brethren: for whoſoever ſhall do the "will of my Father which is in Heaven," by obeying the laws of Nature, of which he is the Author; "the ſame is my real Bro-
a Mat. xii. 46, &c. "ther, and Siſter, and Mother *a*." Chriſt employed theſe terms to make us ſenſible that thoſe degrees of parentage, and family-diſtinctions, are the obſtacles that hinder us from loving each other cordially. For every man fixing his love upon his children, and relations, cannot ſhew that cordiality and huma-

* I have ſaid hating thoſe names, &c. becauſe it is not to be ſuppoſed, that our Saviour would command us to hate the perſons of our parents, ſince he ſo ſtrictly has enjoined us to love all Mankind, and even our Enemies.

† *Si quis venit ad me, & non odit patrem ſuum, & matrem, & uxorem, & filios, & fratres, & ſorores; non poteſt meus eſſe Diſcipulus.* Luc. xiv. 16.

manity which they owe to their neighbour. thing which is utterly againſt the duty of Chriſtian; for Chriſt has laid his abſolute ommand upon us mutually "to love each other, as he loved us," that all men may ow thereby that we are his true Diſ-ples *a*.

a John xiii 34, 35.

HAPPY are the Animals of each Species, ho live ſo amicably together; they ſeem be all children of one common tender rent, and that, becauſe they have no ſuch ing as *meum* and *tuum*, or any family-ſtinctions among them. Free from all yranny, Superſtition, Avarice, and Ambi-on, they paſs their lives in the happieſt anner. In a word, this diſtinction of fa-ilies, far from being the bond of Society, is perpetual occaſion of diviſion to them: ce it makes us ſtrangers to one another, o' inhabitants of the ſame City, and pro-ſſing the ſame Religion. And indeed if an ngliſhman, tho' a Chriſtian, wanted a din-r, but had no money to buy it, he might well ask a Spaniſh Jew, the ſworn enemy his Religion and Country, as the Chriſti-his neighbour for it; for 'tis a million to e that neither of them would give it to m.

THESE are the laws of Nature reeſtabliſh-by Jeſus Chriſt, which Adam, whilſt in-ocent, obeyed. Theſe conſequently are the ws of God, which we, being again in a ate of Grace by the death of Chriſt, ought

to obey. Happy had Mankind been, ha
they obſerved them! but, to their gre
misfortune, they have diſobeyed them, an
by this new diſobedience made the death
Chriſt of no effect. So that they have r
newed, and greatly encreaſed their Miſery.

DIS-



DISCOURSE IV.

n Enquiry into the Cauſes that have corrupted the Manners of Chriſtians.



F we examine into the Chriſtian Religion attentively, we ſhall find it began to decline from the very time of the Apoſtles. But as the alteration was inſenſible at hat time, I believe very few have obſerved t. And yet it was this ſmall ſpark in fact, hich afterwards raiſed that great fire, in he Chriſtian Commonwealth, and has at laſt onſumed it to nothing.

THE building of Temples, and eſtabliſhng of Biſhops have been the origin of all hoſe Calamities that the Chriſtian Religion as undergone; the great Devotion of the Faithful enriching the Temples, and making he Biſhops, who had the care of them, ambitious. Not that the Apoſtles had any ill de-

deſign in thoſe eſtabliſhments, for, as Converts daily encreaſed, and in different places, it was neceſſary for ſome one, already inſtructed in the Goſpel, to preach to them. Wherefore they elected the moſt diſcreet, learned, and pious amongſt them, one of whom they ſent to every Chriſtian Congregation; their duty being to exhort the Faithful to "perſevere in the Faith, to be "humble, and to ſuffer many tribulations, "that they might enter into the kingdom "of Heaven *a*." They were likewiſe obliged to aſſiſt the Sick, and to be aiding to the Faithful both in their ſpiritual, and temporal neceſſities *b*. They were likewiſe to be aſſiduous in the duties of their employment, ſober in their meals, modeſt in their actions, chaſte, charitable, and learned. They were not to be lovers of Wine, paſſionate, perſecuting, nor greedy after Riches; but peaceable, charitable, void of Envy, Quarrels, or Covetouſneſs *: in a word, to ſet ſo good an example, that the new Converts might rather be inſtructed by that, than by their Doctrine.

a Acts xiv 21, 22.

b 2 Cor. iv. 5.

SUCH were the Manners of the Biſhops and Deacons choſen by the Apoſtles, and ſuch ought they always to have been, according to the deſign of their eſtabliſhment. And tho' the Apoſtolick Inſtitutions were afterwards neglected, and that Neglect brought

* Paul here ſhews us what qualities a Biſhop ought to be endowed with. 1 Tim. iii. 1, &c.

brought on the destruction of the Christian Commonwealth, this is not to be ascribed to the Apostles, but to those who refused to observe them. For the intent of the Apostles in chusing Bishops, and Deacons, was a very good and pious one, as we have already observed, tho' it has proved the source of all the confusions and disorders that have ensued: and that from two things which the Apostles did for very good ends, without thinking of the ill consequences that might attend them. The first was leaving the Bishops in their employments for life, and the other, appointing the Deacons to be perpetual in the administration of Temporals.

For tho' the Bishops had no authority over the Faithful, yet they were respected by them in a manner that made them dependant on them in their spiritual affairs. And that dependance, tho' not sufficient in those early times to raise the ambition of those good Bishops, endowed with almost every Christian Virtue; that dependance, I say, encreasing daily, must inevitably turn to Obedience, accustom the Bishops to command, the Faithful to obey, and thus insensibly make them the Lords and Masters of the Faithful, as at last it really happened. Because in a Commonwealth the least Evils constantly go on encreasing, and are so much the more dangerous, as they do not at first appear in their full extent: but the Great, by the palpable damage they cause, force men

men to apply a ſpeedy remedy. Whereas ſmall evils are neglected by thoſe that feel them, as unable to hurt them: ſo that encreaſing by degrees till they are grown incurable, men are habituated to them, as a hectical man is accuſtomed to a fever, nor perceives himſelf ſick, till there is no room for a cure.

JUST ſo the Chriſtians by putting their Wealth into the hands of a ſmall number of men for ever, ought to have apprehended their falling into the ſame inconveniences. For, Men being naturally inclined to ſatisfy their deſires, it was certain, that the Deacons, by always having the means to do it, muſt at laſt yield to this continual temptation, and ſeize upon the common fund to ſatisfy their concupiſcence. It was for theſe reaſons that the Apoſtles would no longer have the management of the temporal, as we have ſeen in the ſecond Diſcourſe, fearing, that by handling Money, they might grow fond of it. And ſo much the more, as they had the example of Judas, their Brother-Apoſtle before their eyes, who being appointed by Chriſt to receive the alms given him, grew ſo greedy of Wealth, as to blame Lazarus's ſiſter for not ſelling the coſtly ointment, with which ſhe anointed the head and feet of Chriſt, in order to diſtribute the money to the poor. Not that he had their intereſt much at heart, as the Evangeliſt well obſerves *a*: but ſaid that, out of his extreme covetouſneſs; and

a John xii. 3, 4, 5, 6.

deſire

deſire that Mary might have ſold the Ointment, and given the Money to Chriſt, of whom he would have received it as his Treaſurer. Beſides, it is notorious that Judas betrayed his Maſter, out of an exceſs of avarice, and delivered him into the hands of his enemies for a trifling ſum of Money *a*.

a Matth. xxvi. 14, 15.

So deteſtable a fondneſs for Riches, which made this Apoſtle commit the moſt horrid Crime that Man ever was guily of, made his Succeſſors prevaricate afterwards: that is, thoſe very men, to whom the goods of the Faithful were committed, to be by them diſtributed to all according to their neceſſities. But what is aſtoniſhing, is, that the Apoſtles appointed Deacons, that the Miniſters of the Goſpel might not concern themſelves with worldly affairs, and yet, in proceſs of time, that the Biſhops deſerted the care of Souls to run after the good things of this world, let us ſee how that came to paſs.

After the death of Chriſt, the Apoſtles ſtill continued Depoſitaries of the Money of the Faithful in the Church of Jeruſalem, and the Offerings of the new Converts, who, as we have ſaid, ſold their effects, were the fund for it. So that the goods of the Church were not diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of every Chriſtian, as we ſee practiſed in ſome Convents, where thoſe primitive inſtitutions are ſtill obſerved. In thoſe early times Chriſtians eagerly parted with their poſſeſſions to diſtribute

tribute in alms, out of a falſe notion, that the World was near its end. Thus the Offerings daily encreaſed more and more. However, the grand precept of Chriſt, which forbad all Property, was practiſed in the Church of Jeruſalem, but not in the reſt; nay, nor long in that of Jeruſalem neither, For we read that no longer than twenty-ſix years after Chriſt's death, the publick Money was diſtinguiſhed from private, each knowing what belonged to himſelf. So that the Money ariſing from Offerings was applied to the ſupport of the Miniſters, and Poor, and not of ſuch as had Fortunes to maintain themſelves. On this account Paul ordered, that Widows, who had rich relations, ſhould be maintained by them, that the Offerings might be ſufficient to maintain ſuch as were really Widows *a*, that is, deſtitute of all other aſſiſtance. On Sundays the Faithful aſſembled together, and every one offered what he had ſet apart, the week before, for the neceſſities of the whole Body.

a 1 Tim. v. 16.

THE care of theſe effects was, during the life of Chriſt, committed to Judas, and after his death, the Apoſtles took it upon themſelves till they elected Deacons, as already mentioned. The Apoſtles afterwards appointed Deacons in every Church, or Congregation of Chriſtians, which all in a ſhort time heaped up great wealth, every one out of a charitable zeal bringing in all that he was able; ſo that there were ſome Con-

Congregations ſo wealthy as to be able to ſupply the wants of ſuch as were poor, as we ſee when James, Peter, and John, received Paul and Barnabas for their fellow-labourers in the Goſpel, who recommended to them to make Collections for the poor Church of Jeruſalem *a*, and Paul tells us he had done the ſame for that Church in Macedonia, Achaia, Galatia, and at Corinth *b*. This good cuſtom was obſerved not only during the lives of the Apoſtles, but after their death too, and at Rome, which was vaſtly rich, the Offerings were ſo great, that about the year 150, they were ſufficient, not only to maintain the Clergy and Poor of that City, but were capable of providing neceſſaries abundantly for other Churches *. The Church of Rome afterwards about the year 220, acquired ſuch immenſe wealth as to be envied by the Emperors themſelves; ſo that Decius ordered Laurence the Roman Deacon to be ſeized, in order to get the immenſe treaſures of that Church into his hands, tho' he was diſappointed; for, Laurence, ſuſpecting his deſign, diſtributed them all at once. This was the cauſe of almoſt all the Perſecutions raiſed againſt the Chriſtians. For the Emperors, or their Lieutenants, finding themſelves in want of money, endeavoured by that method to get that of the Church into their hands †.

a Acts xi. 29.

b 2 Cor. ix. 1, &c.

THERE-

* See Fra. Paolo, Trattato delle materie beneficiarie.

† Fra. Paolo, ubi ſupra.

THEREFORE, after thoſe Churches were grown rich, the Prieſts began to live more commodiouſly, and ſome of them, not ſatisfied with the daily ſupport they received from the Church in common, reſolved to ſeparate themſelves from it, and receive their ſhare in Money. This diſorder did not ſtop there, for the Biſhops grew ambitious, and deſpiſed and abandoned the Poor, appropriating to themſelves what was their right: then they ſeized upon the publick Stock, and made uſe of all ways to encreaſe it: and at laſt left off teaching the Doctrine of Chriſt, that they might apply themſelves to the glutting of their avarice. For they ſet up themſelves for Deacons, by receiving the Offerings of the Faithful, which they applied to their own uſe, leaving the painful office of preaching the Goſpel to the Deacons, and other Prieſts *a*.

a Id. ib.

THESE Evils might have been prevented, had Preachers and Deacons been permitted to hold their offices for ſix months only, or at fartheſt, for a year. For during that time they might have been able to inſtruct and aſſiſt the new Converts, without growing ambitious, or covetous, knowing that at the end of the year they were again to mix with the multitude; a reflexion which would have always kept them within the bounds of Humility and Charity. For how could they venture to give a bad example, or make any pernicious eſtabliſhments, or introduce abuſes

abuſes into the Society, knowing that in a little time they ſhould feel the ill effects as much as the reſt of the Faithful? They would therefore have endeavoured to govern with Wiſdom in order to gain the love of the People, and to ſet their ſucceſſors a good example, that they themſelves might not ſuffer the ſame evils, they might have made others ſuffer during their Miniſtry. And when their time had been expired, the Faithful of every Church ſhould have choſen from among them, ſuch as were the beſt inſtructed, and moſt pious to preach the Goſpel, and receive the Offerings; but never ought to have choſen the ſame a ſecond time, till all that were capable of filling thoſe employments had governed in their turn. And this would have been very eaſy to put in execution, if they had made every man indifferently learn to read, write, and caſt account. For, ſuppoſing that, if a Congregation had conſiſted of no more than five hundred Souls, and they had taken out the women, children, and old men out of the number, there would ſtill have remained eighty or an hundred Men capable of preaching, and diſtributing neceſſaries to the reſt; ſo that a Preacher, or Deacon once elected, would hardly ever have been a ſecond time.

BESIDES, Chriſtians ought never to have diſtinguiſhed the Preacher by the vain name of Biſhop, but have called themſelves all Brethren, in obedience to the injunction of Chriſt;

Chriſt *a*; who knowing the ill effects that ſuch diſtinctions might produce, and deſigning to ſet up a perfect Democracy, expreſsly commanded his Diſciples never to admit of being ſtiled Doctor, or Maſter, but that "the firſt among them ſhould be the "ſervant of the reſt *b*:" being convinced that thoſe titles would elevate them above the reſt; which ought never to be allowed in a popular Government, where all ought to be equal.

a Matth. xxiii. 8.

b Id. ib. 9, 10, 11.

NEITHER ought the Faithful to have allowed of any paraphraſing or commenting of the Scripture; for, as almoſt all Men think differently, from thence muſt conſequently ariſe, as indeed there has, different opinions, and from them, diviſions, animoſities, and all the diſorders that uſually enſue. Which they might have avoided, if they had made it a conſtant rule to lay before the People the Doctrine of Chriſt, juſt as it is in the Goſpel, without adding, or diminiſhing a word; and when they came to any paſſage, that was obſcure, doubtful, or difficult to underſtand, they ought not to have made human judgment the ſtandard for interpreting it, but the Example of Chriſt himſelf; for he tells us, we are not only to obey his Precepts, but imitate his Manners likewiſe; and declares that "to be his "Diſciple we muſt follow his Example *c*. Theſe are the only good Rules that Chriſtians ought to have followed, if they ever in-

c Luke xiv. 27.

intended to preſerve the Government of their Commonwealth entire.

BUT they were never practiſed. For, if we can fully examine the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles, we ſhall find that in effect they all agreed in acknowledging that the Chriſtian Religion was the beſt, but differed exceedingly as to the Principles of it. For, Paul propoſing to perſuade Chriſtians of the Truth of that Religion, and ſhew them wherein it conſiſted, ſays expreſsly, and in ſo many words, that we are "not to boaſt "of our good works, but of Faith alone in "Jeſus Chriſt, for that good works neither "juſtify, nor ſave *; but to him, ſaith "he, that worketh not, but believeth on "him that juſtifieth the ungodly, his Faith "is counted for Righteouſneſs *a*, and ſhall "ſave him." *a* Rom. iv. 5.

JAMES, on the other hand, in a few words ſumming up the Eſſentials of Religion, and not amuſing himſelf with vain diſputes, as Paul did, tells us; that "Faith "without good works will neither juſtify, "nor ſave;" and gives us to underſtand that "good works will ſave us independant "of Faith *b*." This Doctrine is highly juſt and reaſonable, and more orthodox than Paul's. For what avails it for a man to believe that Chriſt died to ſave him, ſo long as he is cruel, covetous, revengeful, and proud? *b* James ii. &c.

* Rom. iii. 26, 27, 28. See alſo Gal. ii. 16.

proud? were he not better without that Belief, but good, charitable, and humble? it is much better for a man to be a Chriſtian in practice without ſpeculation, than to be a Chriſtian in ſpeculation, without the practice; that is, it were better being a Savage, who, tho' without any Religion, ſtill practiſes the duties of a true Chriſtian, than to be a Chriſtian, who is reſolved abſolutely to obey none of the precepts of his Religion, tho' he firmly believes in its myſteries. This notion, ſo agreeable to the Juſtice and Wiſdom of God, and Intentions of Chriſt, would be of great advantage to Society, were it put in practice.

Now it is indiſputable that the Apoſtles, by building Religion upon various and different foundations have cauſed an infinite number of Quarrels and Schiſms to ſpring up in the Chriſtian Common-wealth, by which it has been, and will ever be torne aſunder moſt aſſuredly, if it does not lay aſide the myſterious, or incomprehenſible ſpeculations of Divinity, and fix wholly to thoſe moſt holy and ſimple Tenets, which Chriſt hath taught us, and are very eaſy to be obſerved, being the ſame as thoſe of Nature, as he himſelf has told us, ſaying; "Come unto me, all ye that labour, and
a Mat. xi. 28,29, 30. "are heavy laden, and I will give you Reſt *a*. "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of "me, for I am meek, and lowly in heart, "and ye ſhall find reſt unto your Souls. "For my yoke is eaſy, and my burden is "light,

light," and not grievous and inſupport-ble, like that of cruel and ambitious men.

THEREFORE, to preſerve the Chriſtian Religion in its full purity, it was abſolutely neceſſary for the Biſhops barely to teach the Faithful the ſame Doctrine that Chriſt had taught, without wreſting or corrupting it, as they have done by their Commentaries and Paraphraſes: and that is all that a good Chriſtian could deſire. However, our modern Chriſtians would not be pleaſed continually to hear one and the ſame plain Sermon, without Eloquence, and ſtripp'd of all the ornaments of Rhetoric, their Taſte is too ſqueamiſh, their Underſtanding too refined, and their Learning too extenſive, to have the patience always to hear the ſame groſs and ignorant language, ſuch as is that of the Apoſtles. They muſt have ſomething exceeding fine, and ſublime.

BESIDES, how could they bear to have the Poor, covered with raggs, ſitting by them in the aſſemblies, as James commands them *a*, and as inconteſtably it ought to be on ſuch occaſions, conſidering that all Men are equal with God? but how ſhould they go to Church with pleaſure, when they could no longer hear thoſe ingenious, and different interpretations, before given to the paſſages of the Goſpel, which ſo much flattered their ambition, and gratified their ſpleen? I ſhall give an inſtance of what I am advancing.

a James ii. 1, &c.

THE Roman Catholicks ſay, that he whom John ſaw in a dream *a*, ſeated on a majeſtick Throne, repreſents the Pope, or Biſhop of Rome, when he is ſitting on his Throne: that the twenty-four old men who are ſitting about the Throne, repreſent the Prelates who are about him *. On the contrary, the Proteſtants ſay, that the dream which the ſame John had *b* "of the woman ſitting "upon the ſcarlet-coloured Beaſt, full of "names of Blaſphemy, arrayed in purple "and ſcarlet, decked with precious ſtones "and pearls, having a golden cup in "her hand, full of abominations," is a type of the Roman Catholick Church triumphing in her Iniquities †. And an infinite number of other lies ſpringing from the different interpretations, which each of them ſtrive to forge againſt the other, to draw the veneration of the People, and make their Adverſaries contemptible. But it would have been a matter of no great conſequence if all their gloſſes had occaſioned no other evil, than the making their Divines run mad ‖, and giving birth to an almoſt innumerable

a Rev. iv. 24.

b Id. xvii. 4, &c.

* Fleury des mœurs des Chretiens, titre 30.

† Jurieu, de l'accompliſſement des Propheties, &c. part 1. chap. 8.

‖ It is certain that the Divines on both ſides have ſhewed themſelves mad by their Writings. For nothing can be ſeen more extravagant than Jurieu's work, which I juſt now quoted, nor more ridiculous, than Bellarmin's treatiſe *de Romano Pontifice*; wherein he as much extols the Pope, as Jurieu endeavours to debaſe him, in his. But to ſay the truth, I take them both to be Cheats, that pretended both to be mad, the better to ſeduce Mankind.

erable number of ſatires, and libels, that ave defamed both the one and the other ect. But thoſe writings at laſt ſo exaſpe- ted the Chriſtians of both parties, that, king up arms, and forgetting what they ere, their Wars upon each other were more loody, and the Cruelties they committed reater than any they ever ſuffered by Per- ecution from the bittereſt enemies of Chriſ- anity. In ſhort, every body knows that hoſe two words *, that we find in Luke, ave made the Roman Catholicks the cruelleſt Men in the World, only from their wrong nterpretation of them.

THIS ſpirit of Intolerance that reigns mongſt all Sects, and above all in that of he Papiſts, is the effect of Interpretation, nd this of Policy. For each Sect, having vaſt deſire to lord it over the reſt, and not eing able to do it by fair means, makes uſe f Force to bring them under; and to au- horize their Violence and Injuſtice, the rieſts wreſt paſſages of Scripture, in order o make them ſay what may favour the cruel ctions of their Sect. Thus whilſt thoſe ects are perſecuting, and committing the oſt deteſtable crimes, they think they have good right to do ſo.

AND yet the Hatred of each Sect, and hich is hearty too, againſt thoſe of a diffe-

* COMPELLE INTRARE, ut impleatur domus mea. hap. xiv. 23. On this, ſee Mr. Collins's Diſcourſe on ree-thinking, Sect. 3.

rent one, proceeds from their being prepoſſeſſed that there is no Salvation out of their own. So that they mortally hate them, looking upon them as Enemies to God, and Firebrands of Hell. And for this, we are obliged to the Great Athanaſius, who firſt had the Boldneſs to teach us, that no man could be ſaved, that was not a Catholick in his way. This is a Doctrine that has cauſed, and, in all appearance, will ſtill cauſe many and great Diſorders in the World, that is, in this Planet, for we are to hope, that the Inhabitants of the reſt will live at quiet, as having none of thoſe Traditions among them.

I will not here enquire whether that good Father acted out of Malice, in broaching that Doctrine, or out of the ſincerity of his heart, but ſhall only ſay, it is entirely oppoſite to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity, which abſolutely charges us never to condemn or perſecute whomſoever, or upon any pretence whatſoever. Beſides, Perſecution, tho' eſſential to all falſe Religion, yet diſhonours the true. For, to make uſe of the words that a learned man has put into the mouth of a Mahometan *; "Our holy Religion "defends her ſelf with Truth it ſelf, nor "ſtands in need of any violent methods to "ſupport her ſelf."

BISHOPS had done well too, not to have ſuffered the Faithful to build ſo many Temples,

* See the Perſian Letters, Tome 1. Letter 22.

emples, as they did, nor allowed them to ſemble in them ſo often. For, in the firſt lace, they would always have had a great eneration for ſo holy a place, had they gone eldomer to it. For, as moſt Chriſtians at reſent deſpiſe and prophane Churches, by requenting them too often, they would alvays have reſpected them, by ſeldom going o them. Since we all know by experience hat the being too much accuſtomed to any hing makes it tireſome, and that afterwards begets Contempt. Wherefore the Heathen Prieſts intending to perpetuate the veneraion of the People for the Sanctuary, never ſuffered them to ſet foot within it *. Thus hey had a veneration and fear for the Anſwers of the Oracle, which the Prieſt pronounced to them, at coming out of that holy place. Soſem obſerved the ſame conduct in fetching the Tables of the Law from the Mountain. For he declared to the Jews, that God had ordered him to go up alone; and becauſe he was apprehenſive that ſome one of the moſt enterpriſing, and leaſt credulous, might have the curioſity to follow him, and obſerve his actions, he had a barrier ſet round the Mountain, and ordered whoever ſhould dare to paſs it, to be ſtoned or ſhot *a*. And he acted very diſcreetly. For, had he carried the Iſraelites with him, perhaps, he would not ſo eaſily have perſuaded them, that God had given him the Tables. In the ſame manner, had the Pagan

a Exo. xix 12, &c.

* Fontenelle's Hiſtory of Oracles, 1 Diſſert. chap. 12.

gan Prieſts ſuffered the People to go into the Sanctuary, they would never have been able to deliver the Anſwer of the Oracle to them with ſo much Impudence.

BUT not to hunt for examples amongſt the Ancients, we may find enough amongſt the Modern, to prove how much the Myſteries of Religion grow deſpicable, whenever they are made too familiar. And this is evident from the SACRAMENT of the Altar of the Romiſh Church: Since it is not only contemned by the Clergy, they having a power to forge as many Gods as they pleaſe, but it is alſo prophaned by the Laity, they having too great a number of them. For, Mankind naturally eſteem what is rare, and deſpiſe what is common. For theſe reaſons we ſee that all the People of a Town, and of the adjacent places, run in crowds to worſhip the body of a Saint, or ſome famous Relique, ſuch as St. Anthony of Padua, or the Blood of St. Januarius, or the Holy Handkerchief. And tho' at the ſame time, and in the ſame City the Divine HOST be expoſed in ſeveral Churches, yet very few will give over worſhipping the Saint, or Relique, to adore the HOST.

FROM what motive then do the Papiſts give over praying to their DEIFIED BREAD, to addreſs all their Devotions to a Relique, or the body of a Saint, which moſt commonly is the body of ſome raſcally Malefactor? why do they addreſs themſelves to the Ser-

ervant, rather than to the Maſter? from hat unheard of Stupidity do they pray to the andkerchief, or the pretended Wood of e Croſs of Chriſt, when they may pray to im Himſelf, who is preſent with them? ut what Idolatry, and horrid Prophanation e they not guilty of, when they direct their rayers to a piece of Linnen, Wood, or tone, whilſt they are in the Preſence of hriſt, alive, as they ſay, in the Hoſt? ſo reat an impiety is owing to their ſeeing the Hoſt continually and familiarly, and almoſt lways with the ſame Ceremonies; whereas is not above once in ten, or twenty years, nd not without great difficulty, that they ee the Saint's Body, or the Handkerchief *, nd that with extraordinary preparations, hat is, with ornaments infinitely more pomous, and magnificent, than thoſe of the Sarament.

In the ſecond place, Chriſtians would have ound a great benefit by erecting but a few Temples, and thoſe decent, and not magnificent as they are. For, by that they would have ſaved immenſe ſums, which have been thrown away upon the great number they have built, and upon the rich and coſtly ornaments, with which they have adorned them, which have exhauſted the Chriſ-

* Of theſe Handkerchiefs there are two, one at Turin, and another at Beſançon, the latter, every one being admitted to ſee it, very few, except Foreigners, mind it. Whereas both Piedmonteſe, and Foreigners, are extremely deſirous of ſeeing the former, it being ſhewn but once in twenty years. And this is a proof of my aſſertion.

Chriſtian World, have been the cauſe of the Poor wanting neceſſaries, and have fomented the Ambition of Biſhops.

IN the third place, the Faithful would have found a great advantage in not ſuffering Biſhops and Deacons to hold their Offices above a year. For, thus Chriſtians would never have been divided into two Factions under the names of Laity and Clergy, which, as all know, have divided, and afterwards undermined the Chriſtian Common-wealth, and on its Ruins by little and little raiſed the Tyranny of the Clergy.

THESE were the cauſes that corrupted the Manners of Chriſtians. In my next Diſcourſe I ſhall more fully ſhew the ill effects of them.



DISCOURSE V.

Of the Miſchiefs brought upon CHRISTIANITY, by the great number of Temples and Eccleſiaſtics.

THE perpetual Inſtitution of Biſhops was the cauſe of thoſe Evils, that have ruined the Chriſtian Common-wealth, but their Ambition owes its riſe to the ſwarming of Eccleſiaſtics, and the founding of their Churches. And tho' they were eſtabliſhed by the Apoſtles, it cannot be ſaid for that reaſon, that they were the authors of this Miſchief, their intention being to do Good to the Chriſtian State, and not a Prejudice, as I have already ſhewn in the foregoing Diſcourſe. The Creation of Biſhops, and the eſtabliſhment of Churches, were one and the ſame thing during the Lives of the Apoſtles, but became very different in the ſe-

ſequel; if we conſider that the Apoſtles gave the name of Church to a Body of the Faithful living in any City, or elſewhere, under the direction of a ſingle Biſhop *a*. They likewiſe gave the name of Church to every Congregation of the Faithful diſperſed in different places under one Biſhop *b*. By the word Church we alſo now-a-days underſtand the whole Body of the Faithful, and herein differ not from the ſentiments of the Apoſtles. But we differ extremely in the plural number: Churches being in the Apoſtles days Societies of the Faithful, whereas in the modern ſenſe they are thoſe rich and ſtately Buildings where Chriſtians meet, and abſolutely depend on Biſhops, or other Eccleſiaſtics.

a Acts viii 1, 3.

b Id. ix. 31.

MY deſign therefore is here to ſpeak of thoſe Churches, that now retain the name of thoſe founded by the Apoſtles, tho' in reality they are no longer the ſame. For, we don't find in Scripture, that the Apoſtles built any Churches, but taught the Faithful, ſometimes in a room, ſometimes in publick Cemiteries, and when they had an opportunity, in the Temple *. Beſides, we don't find that the Apoſtles obliged Chriſtians to ſettle Salaries upon their Biſhops, but only exhorted them to be grateful to ſuch as governed well *c*; and Paul ſhews us how far that Gratitude was to extend, ſaying; "having Food and Raiment, let us be therewith content *d*." This proves they had no

c 1 Tim. v. 17, 18.

d Ib. vi. 8.

* Acts v. 21. & Baſnage, Hiſt. de l'Egliſe, liv. 1. ch. 2.

no power over the Faithful, but only the office of inſtructing them; and that they had no Poſſeſſions, they being ſimply recommended to the Piety of Chriſtians. Such was the condition of thoſe Biſhops that were ſettled by the Apoſtles.

THE Scripture is ſilent as to the manner how Biſhops multiplied, but we may ſee by the Letter written by the Apoſtle to the Philippians, that their number muſt have been great *a*: ſince not only each Church had a Biſhop, but there were ſeveral in the direction of one Church; and in another place we find that Paul ſent for the Elders of the Church of Epheſus, who were the Biſhops *b*. So that we may infer there was a large number in the time of the Apoſtles: and tho' the Scripture does not tell us, whether all the Elders were Biſhops, and all the Biſhops Elders, yet it is moſt certain they all had the management of Churches, and were very numerous. Wherefore we may ſafely affirm, that the Democratical Government ſettled by Chriſt, was divided, and rent aſunder by the plurality of Biſhops, whom the Apoſtles had appointed to govern the Chriſtian Republick. For, they being perpetual, and increaſing every day, at laſt made a Body apart, which we ſhall henceforward call the Clergy.

a Phil. i. 1.

b Acts xx. 17, 18.

THE Clergy, then, as has been ſaid, were in the beginning, humble and ſubmiſſive in every thing to the Church, or Body of the Faith-

Faithful. Their Humility might proceed from their Goodneſs or Weakneſs. However, this is ſure, that the moment they were grown numerous, they began to degenerate, which happened in the following manner.

THE ſame motive that obliged the Apoſtles to appoint Biſhops in Cities, obliged them alſo to ſet them up in Villages *, and theſe, tho' entirely independant on the others, went in certain caſes, and aſked the advice of the City-Biſhops *a*. For, it is to be ſuppoſed, that ſuch as had larger Governments muſt alſo have had a larger experience in the affairs of their office. Now the frequent conferences of the Village-Biſhops with thoſe of Cities made the latter grow ambitious; they imagining themſelves thereby more learned than their Brethren, whom they ſaw ſo often have recourſe to them in their occaſions. However they each of them ſeverally maintained their own Right and Authority for three Centuries; but in the beginning of the fourth, the City-Biſhops began to deſpiſe the Country-Biſhops, and as much as in them lay to leſſen their Authority. Thus the Juriſdiction of the Village-Biſhops ſunk in proportion as that of the City-ones grew greater; and the Ambition of theſe latter roſe in proportion as the Church flouriſhed *b*. At length not being able to endure an equality between themſelves and the Village-Biſhops,

a Baſnage, liv. vii. chap. 4.

b Ib. i. 5.

* They were called Chorepiſcopi, that is, Epiſcopi regionales, ſeu rurales.

Biſhops, they all met in the City of Ancyra, and another time in that of Antioch, where they decreed, that Country-Biſhops ſhould for the future have no power to ordain any Prieſt, or Deacon, without the permiſſion of the Biſhop of that Town, on which the Country depended *.

THIS was the riſe of Eccleſiaſtic Superiority and Dominion, and their firſt Uſurpation. This Superiority increaſed as faſt as Prieſts increaſed, and they multiplied exceedingly, ſo ſoon as the Faithful of every City divided themſelves into ſeveral Pariſhes, to avoid the affronts and ſcoffings which the Heathens loaded them with, as they went to their Aſſemblies *a*. For, as one Biſhop was before ſufficient for a whole City, or a Village, becauſe they all met in one place; ſo, as ſoon as they had divided themſelves, a new Prieſt was to be ordained for each Aſſembly, and at the ſame time as many places to be appointed, where the Faithful might meet. Theſe were the cauſes that multiplied the Clergy and Temples in the Cities, who afterwards formed themſelves into an Epiſcopal Ariſtocracy. For the Prieſts were the Subjects, and the rich Temples the Patrimony of the Biſhops. Thus, the Democracy founded by Chriſt, was overturned by thoſe very Perſons, who were obliged ever to have been the ſupport of it; and for no

a Baſnage, liv. 1. c. 6.

* Sacroſanct. Concil. tom. 1. ad Concilium Ancyranum, an. 314. can. 12. pag. 1468. Idem, tom. 2. ad Concil. Antioch. an. 341. can. 10. pag. 584.

no other reaſons but what I have given in my fourth Diſcourſe *.

THE Pariſhes of Alexandria and Rome were the firſt that were divided *a*. And yet the number of Temples and Clergy could not eaſily be increaſed, conſidering the continual Perſecution of Chriſtians, who were often forbidden to aſſemble. So that when they did, they were forced to meet in places, that were either ſecret, or under-ground, or without the City, to avoid the Penalties inflicted upon the Tranſgreſſors of the Imperial Edicts. And whenever Perſecution ceaſed, they again took courage, and built ſome Temples; but as ſoon as it began again, they were demoliſhed, as it happened under Dioclesian †. On this account they never undertook any fine building as long as Perſecution laſted, which at length finally ceaſed ‖, when Conſtantin changed the Religion he had always profeſſed for that of Chriſt.

a Baſnage, liv. 1. c. 6.

IT was then that the ſtately Temples of Chriſtians raiſed their heads! for there was built at Rome by the Emperor's order, St. John

* Ac poſtquam exui æqualitas, & pro modeſtia ac pudore, ambitio & vis incedebat, provenere dominationes. Tacit. Annal. lib. 3. cap. 26.

† Fleury des mœurs des Chretiens, titre 13.

‖ I ſay Perſecution ceaſed, for what Julian the Apoſtate did to the Chriſtians cannot be called Perſecution; nor did he do them ſo much harm as the moſt merciful ſects of Chriſtians in times paſt, or preſent, do the Enemies of their Belief, according to the teſtimony of a celebrated Hiſtorian. Socrat. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. chap. 11.

John Lateran, St. Peter, and St. Paul, and many others, which he adorned with magnificent preſents *. He beſides built a Temple in the city of Oſtia, one at Albano, one at Capua, and another at Naples, all of them enriched with very coſtly ornaments, and endowed with very great Revenues by him †. Several other Temples were likewiſe built by the Biſhops of Rome ‖, and in a very ſhort time almoſt all the Heathen Temples were turned into Churches **.

ALL theſe Churches, as ſoon as built, grew rich by the exceſſive liberality of the Faithful. The motives, however, that enclined the Chriſtians to diveſt themſelves of all they were worth, and beſtow it upon the Church, were the ſame that brought Conſtantin to reſolve to turn Chriſtian, and which raiſed the zeal and piety of ſome of his Succeſſors to enrich the Churches, and aggrandize the Clergy. A celebrated Author gives us an account of them, to this effect ††; that the Emperor turned Chriſtian, becauſe the Prieſts told him they lived ſoberly, loved poverty and humility, and hated grandeur and riches; which the Emperor innocently believing in reality; or at leaſt pretending to believe,

* Baſnage, ubi ſupra, & Fleury, tit. 39.

† Fleury, ubi ſupra.

‖ Baſnage, ubi ſupra.

** Platina, de Vitis Fontif. in Silveſtro primo.

†† Platina, ubi ſupra.

believe, as forced to it by other motives *; after turning Chriſtian, he immediately enriched thoſe, who, as he believed, or pretended to believe, had all along, and then wanted neceſſaries, from their too great humility and patience.

BUT herein both the Emperor, and the Faithful were miſerably cheated. For, the Prieſts neither were humble, nor lived in poverty, nor deſpiſed riches, as they made Conſtantin believe; but were the moſt ſordidly intereſted, and eaten up with ambition. Since they had ſeiſed upon the wealth of the Faithful, left the duties of their calling, and deſpiſed the worſhip of God to run after Fairs and Markets, in order to make a prey of the ſincerity and ſimplicity of the Faithful, by their tricks, and impoſtures. It is no hatred to theſe enemies of human kind, that puts me upon ſaying this; no, it is from St. Cyprian that I have it †; a witneſs worthy of credit, not ſo much from his being acknowledged

* The Chriſtian Religion had extended it ſelf ſo far, and the number of Chriſtians was grown ſo great, that Princes, to reign in ſafety, were forced to go over to the ſtrongeſt ſide, and turn Chriſtians. And for this reaſon Conſtantin ſubmitted to be baptized. Macchiav. Hiſt. of Flor. lib. 1.

† Epiſcopi plurimi, quos & hortamento eſſe oportet cæteris, & exemplo: Divina procuratione contempta, procuratores rerum ſæcularium fieri, derelicta cathedra, plebe deſerta, per alienas Provincias oberrantes negotiationis quæſtuoſæ nundinas aucupari.--- Non in Sacerdotibus Religio Devota, non Miniſtris fides integra, non in operibus miſericordia, non in moribus diſciplina: ſed ad decipienda corda ſimplicium callide fraudes, circumveniendis fratribus ſubdolæ voluntates. Cyprian. de Lapſis.

ledged for a Saint among Chriſtians, as that he lived in thoſe very Times, and was an eye-witneſs of the villainous and ſcandalous actions of the Clergy.

A modern Author, not daring to expoſe the paſſage I have been quoting from that Saint, for fear of ſcandalizing the Body of the Clergy, of which he is a member, ſays; that the warmth of Chriſtians was ſo diminiſhed, that St. Cyprian ſeverely reproached them with it *. Every one may hereby ſee how difficult it is to come at the truth of a fact from any Author, when it either directly or indirectly ſhocks him. For this paſſage indirectly offends the Writer I am ſpeaking of, as an Eccleſiaſtic; wherefore he has entirely diſguiſed it, ſaying, that St. Cyprian reproached the Chriſtians, when we ſee plainly by his words, that he does not blame the actions of the Laity, but of the Clergy. Now tho' our Author by this equivocation endeavours to throw all theſe Crimes upon the innocent, in order to clear the guilty, we may however venture to ſay with certainty, that the firſt Wealth the Prieſts acquired by the liberality of the Emperor, and the piety of Chriſtians were uſurped, and unfairly gotten, as they impoſed upon the Emperor, and the Faithful, by falſhood and lies, in inſiſting upon what was not. Nor ought this to ſurprize any one, ſince the whole, and every thing the Clergy poſſeſs as well in ſpirituals

* Fleury, des mœurs des Chretiens, titre 44.

as temporals, was extorted from Chriſtians by their Hypocriſy, and the unjuſt, violent, and cruel methods, which they made uſe of to obtain them, as I ſhall evidently prove in the ſequel of this Work.

BUT to return to the ſubject of the Churches. As ſoon as they were built, there was a neceſſity of chuſing a number of perſons as well to ſerve in them as to keep them in repair, ſuch as Chaplains, officiating Prieſts, Porters, Chamberlains, Sacriſtans; theſe Officers were very numerous in the great Churches, and in the ſmall ones in proportion. At firſt they were Laymen who officiated in thoſe poſts, but in proceſs of time ſeveral Orders of Clerks were inſtituted to ſuch ſervices *. Thus the Clergy multiplied, and the Biſhops ſubjects encreaſed. All the authority then of the Church-Government was in the hands of the Biſhops of the Cities, as already obſerved. But as affairs often change faces by the too great power and ambition of one ſide, and the weakneſs of the other, the equality was not long kept up among the Biſhops of the Cities. For, the very ſame cauſes, that had influenced the City-Biſhops to uſurp an authority over thoſe of the Villages, induced the Biſhops of the largeſt Cities to ſeize upon that, which thoſe of the ſmall had, by depriving them of their Rights, and making them

* Fleury, des mœurs des Chretiens, titre 28.

em their Suffragans *. Thus the Ariſto-
acy which before was numerous, ſoon
indled to a ſmall number; the Biſhops
the principal Cities taking upon them the
mes of Metropolitans, and as all the civil
airs of the Province were brought before
e Tribunal of the Governour, who lived
the Metropolis; ſo all the differences,
d all the affairs of the Clergy were de-
ed by the Metropolitan Biſhop †.

ONE thing that happened about that time,
d very much increaſed the Power of Bi-
ops, by giving ſtrength and vigour to the
ole Body of the Clergy, was the founda-
n of Monaſteries, begun in Egypt by Pa-
me ‖, or, as ſome ſay, by Paul of Thebes ‖‖,
d followed by Anthony **, Hillarion, Ma-
ius, Baſil, and others, who ſtiled them-
ves Anchorets ††. Thoſe Anchorets, who
re few at firſt, and retired from the World
eſcape Perſecution, or perhaps to lead
life of religious Mad-men, ſoon after
rmed to that degree †‡†, as to make
ormidable Army, by whoſe means Biſhops

Per ſingulas Provincias oportet Epiſcoporum cogno-
e Primatum Metropolitani Epiſcopi; & ipſam curam
ipere. Sacr. Concil. tom. 5. ad cap. Mart. Epiſcop.
c; can. 3 & 4. pag. 905.
Baſnage, liv. 1. chap. 8.
Ibid. liv. 2. chap. 8.
‖ Polydor. Virg. de invent. rerum, lib. 7. chap. 1.
* Sozom. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 1. chap. 13.
† See Father Paul's Account of the riſe of Monks in
Trattato delle materie Beneficiarie. chap. 8.
†‡† Fleury des mœurs des Chretiens, titre 41.

did not a little facilitate their Uſurpations *.

THE Government of the Church, tho' it had ſhifted from Biſhops to Metropolitans, was ſtill Ariſtocratical, but was almoſt turned topſy-turvy when the Metropolitans of the largeſt Provinces uſurped the Authority of the reſt, by calling themſelves Primates †. The moſt conſiderable were the Metropolitans of Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, and Conſtantinople, who were all confirmed in their new Dignity by the Council of Conſtantinople, which however forbad them any freſh Uſurpation for the future. But, notwithſtanding that, the Primate of Conſtantinople, either by making an ill uſe of the Favour of the Emperor Theodoſius, and his Succeſſors, or finding he could uſurp the Rights of his Neighbours with great eaſe, in a ſhort time made the Metropolitans of Pontus, Thrace, and Aſia, his Dependants, whoſe Juriſdiction the Council had always maintained. The other three Primates, following ſo good an Example, and having no leſs a deſire to aggrandiſe themſelves, extended their Authority as far as they were able. So that they all four raiſed themſelves above the other Primates, acquiring a new degree of Superiority, and a new title, which was that of Patriarch ‖.

In

* Socrat. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 7. cap. 13.

† Baſnage, liv. 1. chap. 9.

‖ Baſnage, ubi ſupra.

IN this manner was the Eccleſiaſtical Ariſtocracy overturned. For, it ſupported itſelf during the time of the Biſhops, Metropolitans, and Primates, though they had each wreſted their Authority the one from the other, they all ſubmitting to the Decrees of a General Council. But the form of Church-Government was quite altered on the creation of Patriarchs; ſince the Patriarch governed abſolutely and deſpotically in his grand Dioceſe, by giving Ordination to all the Metropolitans in the ſeveral Provinces of it, and by calling a Council once a year, which was compoſed of all the Metropolitans, Biſhops, and Suffragans, whereof he was the Head. Thus ended the Ariſtocratical Government, and in its room four Tyrannical and Deſpotic ones were ſet up, independant of each other, which, that we may give no offence to the Ignorant, we ſhall call Patriarchates.

THESE Patriarchs, who had annihilated the Authority of the General Council, gave birth to various Schiſms *, wherein every one

* The Emperor Conſtantin, tho' fond of the Clergy even to Bigottry, yet has given a true Picture of the Prieſts, in a Letter he wrote to the Biſhops aſſembled at Jeruſalem after the Council of Nicea: wherein he complains, "That at a time when the Barbarians were beginning to come at the Knowledge of Chriſt, the Prieſts, who would feign paſs for the Guardians of the Myſteries of Religion, laboured only to keep up Diviſions, and Animoſities, and ſeemed to be animated to the Deſtruction of Mankind." *Euſeb. in vita Conſtant. Imperat.*

one interpreted the Scripture after his own way: ſo that Arius and Origen raiſed great Diviſions and Troubles in the Dioceſe of Alexandria: Apollinarius and Neſtorius divided the Biſhops of the Dioceſe of Antioch. Donatiſm and Monotheliſm thoſe of Africa. But none of theſe Diviſions made ſo much Diſorder as the Diſpute about Images, which began at Conſtantinople under the Emperor Leo the third, ſirnamed Iſauricus. For tho' this Diſpute about Images was a trifle in itſelf, yet it was ſharply conteſted, as well by thoſe, who were for ſupporting them, as by thoſe, who were for aboliſhing them: inſomuch that the Emperor's Officers, who were ſent to break them down, were maſſacred by the Populace in the execution of their Maſter's Orders *. Thus part of Aſia was in a ſhort time filled with Revolts, Conſpiracies, and Murders, for an affair of no conſequence.

a Gregory 2. THE Pope, or Patriarch of Rome *a* all this while deſiring no leſs than the reſt to extend his Power, was contriving how to improve the Misfortunes of others to his own advantage. Wherefore, being ſenſible how beneficial it is in the changes and viciſſitudes of the World, to know how to lay hold of Opportunities, tho' he could not be acquainted with the Florentin's Maxims †, who was born many ages afterwards; made great advantages of the Diſorders that employed

* Maimbourg, Hiſt. des Iconoclaſtes, liv. 1.
† Macchiavel's Prince, chap. 6.

ployed the Greek Emperor in the East, to strip him of the Authority he had in Italy, which kept the Pope in great Subjection, and that was the only rub he found in the way of his Power. For, the Patriarch of Rome would never have been able to make himself Master of that City, as long as there was a Roman Emperor.

To this end the Pope, who knew the great veneration which the Italians had for Images, excommunicated the Vicar of the Empire *, who had published the Emperor's Edict for abolishing of Images, and made very pressing Instances to the Venetians, the King, and Dukes of Lombardy, to oppose the execution of the Imperial Edict, and wrote circular Letters to the Bishops of the chief Cities of the Empire, to use all their Power to hinder so great a Prophanation; which had so great an effect, that the Inhabitants of Ravenna, and afterwards the Venetians, and the very Troops of the Emperor revolted, and drew the rest of the People of Italy to throw off their Obedience to the Greek Emperor, aud chuse another. These Rebels therefore went from City to City, deposed the Magistrates put in by the Vicar of the Empire, and elected others, which they called Dukes †. Their Fury went still farther; for, marching quite thro' Italy with their

* Maimbourg, Hist. des Icon. liv. 1. an. 728. Platina in Gregorio 2.

† Naucleri Chronicon, generat. 25. tom. 2. p. 654, & Maimbourg, ubi supra.

their Arms in their hands, they committed the moſt horrid Cruelties, and Violences, and killed the Vicar of the Empire in the City of Ravenna, the Governor of Naples, and ſeveral other Officers of the Emperor *.

ALL theſe Miſchiefs were the effect of the Pope's Excommunication, and committed at his Inſtigation; not that he had the leaſt veneration for the Images, but becauſe he paſſionately wiſhed to be ſole Maſter of Rome. For, by the ſteps they took the Popes diſcovered their Deſigns, as we ſhall ſee preſently. Luitprand, King of Lombardy, who at the Pope's deſire had undertaken the protection of Images, ſeized upon all the Dominions belonging to the Empire. But ſome time after the Emperor made peace with the King, and had all his Forces to reduce the Rebels, and chiefly the Pope, who was beſieged in Rome. Gregory the third ſeeing himſelf ſo diſtreſſed, and cooped up, found a way of appeaſing the King of Lombardy †, by ſhewing him he would have found his Advantage by being of his Party, rather than of the Emperor's. This Propoſal was agreeable to the King, and a Peace was concluded between him and the Pope. However, twenty-ſix years after ‖, the

* Naucler. ubi ſupra.

† Platina in Greg. 3. & Maimbourg, Hiſt. des Icon. liv. 1. an. 729.

‖ Maimbourg, Hiſt. deſt Icon. liv. 2. an. 755.

the Lombards, with Aſtolphus their King at their Head, ſeized upon Ravenna, and all the Dependencies of that Exarchate, and puſhed their Conqueſts ſo far, as at laſt to threaten the Territories of the Church. This put the Pope, Stephen the ſecond *, into ſuch a Conſternation, as to have recourſe to the Clemency of Conſtantin the fourth, ſirnamed Copronimus, Leo's ſon, beſeeching him in the moſt abject manner to haſten into Italy, and deliver Rome, the miſerable remains of that vaſt Empire, from the Tyranny of the Lombards †.

WE muſt here obſerve, that Conſtantin was a ſworn Enemy to Images, and yet the Pope applies to him for Aſſiſtance againſt the Lombards, who held them in great veneration, and were the Protectors of them. This way of acting of the Popes, ſhews us, that when they excited the People of Italy againſt the Greek Emperors, it was not out of their great Zeal either for Images, or Religion, but only a pretence made uſe of by them, in order to remain ſole Lords of Rome; but afterwards ſeeing their Deſigns miſcarry, and themſelves falling into ſubjection to the King of Lombardy, they choſe rather to acknowledge the Greek Emperor for their Sovereign, from whom they had little to fear, conſidering the great diſtance between Rome and Conſtantinople, than to obey the King of Lombardy, who was their Neigh-

* Platina in his Life.

† Anaſtaſius, in Stephano 2.

Neighbour, and powerful. Thus the Popes, by ſiding ſometimes with the Lombards, and ſometimes with the Greeks, greatly augmented their Power *.

I ſhall not here enter into the long and tedious diſputes between the Patriarchs of Conſtantinople and Rome, nor ſay any thing of the Excommunication lanced againſt each other by Photius and Nicolas the firſt †, nor of the Biſhops of Africa excommunicating the Biſhop of Rome ‖; nor of the Quarrels and Diſcords that ſo long afflicted not only the Church, but almoſt the whole Earth; raiſed, fomented, and kept up by the ſole Ambition of the Patriarchs and Biſhops; it not being my deſign to write a Hiſtory of thoſe Times, but to give the Reader a general and faithful idea of the riſe and progreſs of the Government of the Church; which was popular in the days of Chriſt, and his Apoſtles ‖‖; the Creation and Ambition of Biſhops brought it to an Ariſtocracy, in which ſtate it continued during the time of Metropolitans and Primates; but, as Patriarchs got uppermoſt, it ceaſed, and broke into Principalities, which, after many bloody Wars, and infinite Miſchiefs that Prieſts brought upon each other by the Ambition they all had of do-

* That is to ſay, *Per Fas & Nefas.*

† Baſnage, liv. 6. chap. 6.

‖ Id. ib. liv. 4. chap. 8.

‖‖ See hereon, Father Paul's Trattato delle materie beneficiarie, cap. 16.

domineering over each other *, were deſtroyed, and their Differences ended by the inundation of the Saracens into Africa, and of the Tartars, Perſians, and Saracens into Aſia, who overturning the Greek Empire, and the Chriſtian Religion, ſet up the Ottoman, in the room of the one, and the Mahometan, in that of the other †.

THUS the Patriarchates of Aſia and Africa being deſtroyed, and the Biſhops and Chriſtians diſperſed, and reduced almoſt to nothing, the Pope found himſelf very powerful, and without Rivals; he alone being inveſted with all the Authority, that was before divided amongſt the Patriarchs; ſo that the Government of the Church became Monarchical. For, he was Maſter of ſeveral States, with an abſolute Power over them; Pepin, King of France, having made a donation of Ravenna, Urbino, la Marca, and other Lands, to Stephen the ſecond ‖, and Charlemagne being elected Emperor by the Authority of Leo the third ‖‖; whoſe cir-

* During theſe Conteſts between the Patriarchs of Conſtantinople and Rome about Precedence, Boniface the third was, with much difficulty, declared by the Emperor Phocas, Head of the whole Church, and firſt of all Biſhops. *Abbatis Uſpergenſis Chronicon. ad ann.* 604. ---*Platina, in Bonifacio* 3.

† Sleidan. de quatuor ſum. Imp. lib. 2. & Chevreau, Hiſt. du Monde, liv. 5. chap. 3.

‖ Platina in Stephano 2. & Sigeberti Chronicon, ad an. 755.

‖‖ Platina in Leone 3. & Mezeray, Hiſt. de France, in Charlemagne's Life.

circumſtances brought the Grandeur of the Empire low, and raiſed that of the Church. For, as the other Emperors had held the Popes, and Biſhops in a dependance upon them, it being their Right to elect, or confirm them, ſo, the Pope in his turn made the Emperors dependant upon him, ſince they, by an unheard of Meanneſs, ſuffered themſelves to be confirmed by him.



DIS-



DISCOURSE VI.

By what Means the Pope became Sovereign Lord of Rome.



IN order to treat of this matter in a proper manner, we ought to examine whether the Authority of the Church be of humane or divine Right. As to the latter, we can ſay nothing, our Underſtanding, by reaſon of its weakneſs, being unable to dive into things of ſo high and abſtruſe a nature, that require the attention of venerable Divines only, their Underſtandings being enlightened by Faith. As to the former, I may venture to enter into it, as being informed from Hiſtory, how Monarchies began, and how a handful of Men have been able to ſeize upon the Rights of the reſt, and hold thoſe in Slavery, who by the right of Nature were, and are their Equals. But out of the Reſpect I bear to our Holy Mother

ther the Church, I will not ſay ſhe obtained the overgrown Authority, ſhe at preſent poſſeſſes, without any Right or Juſtice, but ſhall only ſhew that all the Authority of the Church over Chriſtian Princes and Nations, is founded upon juſt the ſame Right as the Spaniards had to butcher the Americans *, the more eaſily to get their Wealth into their hands. This is the nature of the Church's Right, which we have laid open in the preceding Diſcourſe, by ſhewing the methods made uſe of by the Clergy, in riſing from the Meanneſs of their firſt Condition to the Grandeur of the Patriarchate.

AFTER then that the Patriarch of Rome, whom we ſhall henceforward call Pope, found himſelf Head of the whole Body of the Clergy, his Ambition inſpired him with the deſire of throwing off his Obedience to the Emperor, and other Chriſtian Princes. And this had been a trifle, if after throwing off their yoke, bringing his Election to be independant of them, and depriving them of their Right of Inveſtiture, and of the City of Rome, he had not likewiſe endeavoured to make them his Subjects, by pretending that no Prince had any legal Right to be choſen Emperor, without he received the Crown from his hands. The Pride of the Popes was not ſatisfied with ſoaring to ſo high a power, but reſolved to ſecure to them-

* They maſſacred above 12 Millions. See Barth. de las Caſas, deſtruicion de las Indias.

themſelves a Right of depoſing Crowned Heads, after excommunicating them, and abſolving their Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, that ſo they might be expoſed to the Fury of their People, with a view the more eaſily to deprive them of their Dominions, and thereby attain to Univerſal Monarchy, at which they ever after aſpired.

THE Thing was not ill imagined. For, by depoſing any King, the Pope intimidated the reſt who were ſtill upon their Thrones, gave a Reputation to his Spiritual Arms, and made ſuch, on whom he conferred Kingdoms, and who were already in his Intereſt, his Vaſſals. This was the real and direct way to make himſelf Maſter of the whole Earth, had not Princes, tho' ſomewhat late, perceived their Error. This is what I am going to make appear in this Diſcourſe, in the ſame manner as in the laſt I ſhewed the methods, whereby the Epiſcopal Authority was ſettled, and encreaſed among the Clergy.

THE Biſhops, or Prieſts, and Deacons, were in the beginning of their Inſtitution, choſen by the People, as appears in the Election of the ſeven Deacons *a*, and of Barnabas, and Matthias * : and this was the method till the Reign of Conſtantin †. But after the Emperors had embraced Chriſtianity, it was but juſt that the Right of Election ſhould center in them, as firſt and chief Mem-

a Acts vi. 3, 5.

* Acts ii. 15, 16, 23, 24, 26.

† Fleury, ubi ſupra. titre 25.

Members of the Church. To this end no Biſhop, eſpecially that of Rome, was choſen without their Conſent. For, Rome being the Capital of the Weſtern Empire, no Biſhop could ever hold the Epiſcopal See, without the expreſs Approbation of the Emperor. And tho' his Reſidence at Conſtantinople was of great prejudice to his Authority in Italy, yet he ſtill maintained his Right *.

WHEN the Empire of the Weſt afterwards fell into the hands of the French, Charlemagne, and all the other Emperors, French as well as German, during the courſe of almoſt three hundred years, maintained this Right of theirs: and many Roman-Catholic and Proteſtant Writers agree that the Emperors, from Juſtinian to Otho the firſt, were Maſters of the Election of a Pope, nay, and beſides, reſerved to themſelves a Power of confirming him, in order to chuſe another, in caſe they ſhould be diſſatisfied with him they had choſen †. The Emperors convoked Councils, and confirmed or rejected the Decrees of them; depoſed Biſhops, or reſtored them to their Dioceſes, as they thought fit ‖. The Right of Inveſtiture in like manner belonged to the Emperors,

* Baſnage, liv. 2. chap. 8.

† Platina in Joanne 12. Maimbourg, de la decadence de l'Empire, liv. 1. an. 964. Baſnage, liv. 2. ch. 8, 9.

‖ Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 10. cap. 5. Socrat. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 2. cap. 39, 40. lib. 4. cap. 34. The Kings of France had the ſame Authority. See Mezeray, Hiſt. de France, & Baſnage, Hiſt. de l'Egliſe, liv. 5. ch. 8.

perors, and other Princes; becauſe it was they who had enriched the Churches; and had granted Biſhops and Abbots a power of holding Fiefs, and other Lands; and as it belonged to the Sovereign to inveſt his Vaſſals and Subjects with the Fiefs that held of his Crown; it was highly juſt and reaſonable that the Biſhops, who were grown powerful by the liberality of the Emperors, and other Princes, ſhould depend upon them, and teſtify their ſubmiſſion and gratitude, by receiving the Inveſtiture of the Fiefs and Demeſnes they poſſeſſed, from the hands of thoſe that had beſtowed them. The Kings of France of the firſt Race maintained this Right, and if thoſe of the ſecond, either by reaſon of the Civil Wars that laid waſte France, or of their too great Reſpect for the Church, loſt ſome of their Rights; thoſe of the third recovered almoſt all of them, and have preſerved them ever ſince to this time *.

As to the Sovereignty of Rome, of which the Pope is now in poſſeſſion, were any powerful Prince, or all the Italian Princes unanimouſly to order him to produce his Title to it, I know he muſt be horridly perplexed; he not being able to authorize it by alledging Conſtantin's Donative, which he never has been capable of proving, as it is an imaginary and trumped up Title by the unanimous conſent of all Authors both Proteſtant, and

* Baſnage, liv. 28. ch. 7. Mezeray, Hiſt. de France; & l' Hiſt. du Regne de Louis 14. liv. 8.

Catholic that are not Slaves to the Pope. For, tho' they differ as to the nature of that Donation, yet they all agree that it is ſurreptitious and falſe, as well as that of Lewis the Debonnaire *. Cardinal Baronius ſays the Greeks forged Conſtantin's Donation to make Poſterity believe the Biſhop of Rome was grown powerful by the Emperor's Generoſity †. But we are to conſider the motives of Baronius, a moſt partial Writer of the Roman Church, and a great ſtickler for the Pope's Authority, for denying it; and we ſhall find, that the Popes forged the Charter of this pretended Donative ſeveral Ages after Conſtantin, that is to ſay, according to the opinion of a very learned man ‖; in the tenth Century, to make an advantage of it in thoſe times of Ignorance, as a good foundation whereon to fix their Authority in the City of Rome; they being at that time ſtill very weak, and conſequently unable to maintain it by force. But the moment they grew ſtronger, they altered their tone. For, they were unwilling any longer to ſay that the Emperor had conferred the Authority they had upon them, and did not dare to own they had uſurped it. Wherefore they inſiſted that the City of Rome was the Patrimony

* Donatio quæ a Gratiano dicitur facta Eccleſiæ Romanæ a Ludovico Pio, non minus commentitia, quam quæ Conſtantino magno affingitur. Pagi, Crit. Baron. ad an. 817. Bainage, liv. 7. ch. 6. Maimbourg, Hiſt. des Icon. liv. 2. an. 756. Laurentius Valla, de falſa donatione Conſtantini.

† Annal. Eccleſ. an. 324. pag. 337, & ſeq.

‖ Monſ. de Marca, de Conc. lib. 3. cap. 12.

trimony of St. Peter, and his Succeſſors. And this muſt be highly probable; ſince every one knows the poſſibility there was, that a poor Fiſherman, who always lived wretchedly, and died like a Malefactor by the hands of the Executioner, ſhould leave his Succeſſors a temporal Kingdom. So that we ſee that Cardinal Baronius did not deny this Donation for the ſake of Truth, but only in order to flatter the Pope's Vanity.

HITHERTO we do not find the leaſt footſtep of the Pope's Right to the City of Rome, and this comes to us confirmed by the Actions of other Emperors. Charlemagne, when he took upon him the Government, acted like a Sovereign; for, he puniſhed the guilty as well of the Clergy as Laity, and put in the Magiſtrates *. Charles's Succeſſors maintained their Rights down to Otho the firſt †, who, far from loſing them, called a Council, depoſed Pope John 13, and ſet up Leo the eighth in his room. But as ſoon as the Emperor was gone from Rome, the Relations and Friends of John forced Leo to abdicate, and ſet up John again. John afterwards dying, the Romans choſe Bennet the fifth, and beſought the Emperor to confirm him, who ſo highly reſented their Proceedings, as to

* Ordinatis Romanæ urbis Pontificis, totius Italiæ, non tantum publicis, ſed etiam Eccleſiaſticis, & privatis rebus, Roma profectus, ſpoletum venit. Eginard. in vita Caroli magni, & Platina, in Leone 3.

†. Des droits de l' Empire, &c. ch. 5. & ſuiv.

force them to depoſe Bennet, and acknowledge Leo *. Otho the third choſe Gregory the fifth, his Relation, Pope; but the Emperor afterwards going into Germany, the Pope fled, not being able to live in ſafety at Rome, upon account of the frequent Seditions, and took refuge in the Emperor's Court. During this, the Romans rebelled, and choſe a Conſul, whom they veſted with the whole Authority of the Government. Whereupon he inſtantly choſe John, Biſhop of Placentia, Pope. This coming to Otho's ear, he haſtened into Italy with a powerful Army, and having defeated and quelled the Rebels, and turned out and put to death John, after firſt pulling out his eyes, reinſtated Gregory in the See †.

In the eleventh Century the Emperor Henry the ſecond held a Synod at Rome, and depoſed three Popes who at that time unworthily ſat in the Epiſcopal Chair, and put Syndeger, Biſhop of Bamberg, and afterwards called Clement the ſecond, in their room ‖. After which he made a Law forbidding the Roman People to meddle in the Election of a Pope without his expreſs Order **. The Emperor Henry the fourth elected four Popes one after another ††.

By

* Platina, in Johanne 13.
† Platina, in Greg. 5.
‖ Platina, in Greg. 6.
** Platina, in Clem. 2.
†† Damaſcus, 2. Leo, 9. Victor, 2. Steph. 9. Onuphr. Panvin. ---- Acceſſion. in Hiſt. Plat. poſt Clem. 2.

BY theſe facts we plainly ſee that the Emperors were ſtill at that time abſolute Maſters of Rome; ſince they not only had the right of electing, but likewiſe of depoſing and puniſhing the Popes when guilty of any Miſdemeanor. The Emperors called Councils, and their Decrees were always ſuited to his intentions, which was extremely juſt and reaſonable. For the Emperors, being the ſole cauſe of putting an end to Perſecution, declaring themſelves Protectors of the Church, by turning Chriſtians, and ſupporting and enriching it, when they might have deſtroyed, or left it in a poor and forlorn condition; it was highly juſt and reaſonable for the Biſhops of the Church ever to look upon them as their ſupreme Benefactors, and to obey them, not only as it was their duty as Subjects and Chriſtians *a*, but likewiſe to ſhew them a lively gratitude for the Benefits they had received of them. But the Popes, by an unheard of Ingratitude, far from returning the leaſt Thanks, rebelled againſt their firſt Benefactors the Greek Emperors, and made all their Subjects in Italy do ſo too, and at laſt robbed them of the Empire in the Weſt, by calling Pepin into Italy, who had already made uſe of the Pope's Authority to uſurp the Crown from his own Sovereign; and the Pope employed his Forces to get the Exarchate of Ravenna * out of Aſtolphus the King of Lombardy's

a Rom. xiii. 1, &c.

* Mezeray, Hiſt. de France, pag. 143, 144. Edit. de Paris, in fol. an. 1643. Platina, in Zach. 1.

bardy's hands, who had ſeized upon it, tho' it belonged to the Greek Emperor; not to reſtore it to its lawful Owner, tho' Conſtantin the fourth had demanded it of him, after he had taken it from Aſtolphus, but to make a Preſent of it, together with the Cities of Falenza and Ferrara *, to the Pope, as an Acknowledgment for the Services he had received from him, when he cauſed himſelf to be crowned King of France †.

THUS was formed the Patrimony of the Church! two Uſurpers in ſtrict alliance to enrich themſelves by the Spoils of others! Charlemagne no leſs politic than Pepin his Father, after wreſting the Kingdom of Lombardy from Didier, confirmed and ratified his Father Pepin's Donative to the Pope, and much increaſed it; but however ſtill reſerved the Regal Juriſdiction to himſelf ‖: and they afterwards both ſwore a perpetual Friendſhip **. Charles acted thus, becauſe deſiring to be choſen Emperor, he knew how effectual the Pope's Perſuaſions might prove with the Romans; which indeed ſucceeded as he foreſaw, for he was proclaimed Emperor at the Pope's Sollicitation ††.

BUT

* Platina, in Steph. 2. & Anaſtaſius in ejus vita.
† An. 751. Mezerai, ubi ſup. p. 145.
‖ Des droits de l'Empire, ch. 2.
** Platina, in Adriano 1.
†† Platina, in Leo. 3. Anaſtaſius in eodem. Sigeberti Chron. ad an. 801.

BUT, tho' Leo the third had procured him the Empire, yet for all that, Charles yielded up none of his Rights to him, nor the City of Rome; and far from ſo doing, enjoyed all the Imperial Prerogatives, with which he had been inveſted by Adrian the firſt, whilſt he was only King; and Adrian beſides declared openly *, that the Election of the Pope, and Biſhops belonged of right to the Emperor †. Charles's Succeſſors, as we have ſeen, down to Henry the third, were none of them ſo mad as to give up their Rights to the Pope. The Popes, however, are abſolute Lords of that City; ſo that they muſt neceſſarily have got it by ſome means or other. They had it not, as we have already obſerved from the Emperors, who were the rightful Lords, nor from the People; therefore they have uſurped it. I am aſhamed to call the Vicars of Chriſt Uſurpers: but can do no otherwiſe without ſuppreſſing the Truth, under favour of theſe good Servants of the Servants of God ‖. Let us come to the fact.

HILDEBRAND was the firſt who reſolved to ſtrip the Emperor of his right of electing a Pope, and granting Inveſtitures to the Clergy.

IT was a bold and difficult project; but we ſhall not think ſo, when we conſider it was

* In a Synod of 153 Biſhops held at Rome.

† Decret. Grat. pars 1. diſtinct. 63. can. 24 & 25.

‖ Servus ſervorum Dei, one of the Pope's Titles.

was a crafty Monk that conceived, and undertook the execution of it. The means he employed were various, as we ſhall ſee; but the firſt was, to go meet Leo the ninth, who being elected Pope by the Emperor, was on his journey to Rome clothed in his pontifical Robes, in order to take poſſeſſion of his Dignity. Hildebrand coming up to him, and knowing his Simplicity, told him that Henry had no right to chuſe a Pope, but that it belonged to the People, and Clergy of Rome: that therefore he ought to lay aſide thoſe Robes, and enter Rome incognito. Leo hereupon ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed upon, unrobed, and ſaid; he was ſorry he had obeyed the Emperor rather than God. Leo being come to Rome, Hildebrand perſuaded the Romans to chuſe him Pope, which was eaſily brought about, from the Envy the People bore to the Clergy, whom the Emperor ſometimes permitted to chuſe their Popes *. Who would not diſcover Hildebrand to be a Monk by this ſtratagem? For, the Monks go beyond all Mankind in the art of deceiving their neighbour, becauſe their whole ſtudy in Monaſteries is to find ways of deceiving ſo artfully, that men may not perceive they are cheated †.

IN the ſame manner acted Hildebrand; by making the ſame Perſon be re-elected by the

* Platina, in Leo. 9. & Otto Friſing. lib. 6. ch. 33. an. 1049.

† Tyrannorum in principio tanta eſt dexteritas, ut eorum dolum nemo queat intelligere. Sueton. in Tiberio.

the People, whom the Emperor had already elected. For he thus robbed Henry of his Right without his perceiving it, and transferred it to the People of Rome, by making them believe it was a Right belonging to them. Since the Emperor never knew the wrong that had been done him, finding the ſame Pope whom he had elected, and the People, that knew nothing of Henry's having already elected him, and ſeeing he did not oppoſe that Election, as he uſed to do, abſolutely believed they had a right ſo to do: which belief did not a little contribute to the ſucceſs of Hildebrand's deſigns, who wanted to throw off the Emperor's yoke, and make himſelf abſolute Maſter of Rome. For, the Romans had then already begun to take a diſtaſte to their Obedience they owed to Henry, thinking that the ſingle right of chuſing a Pope was worth all the Emperor had remaining. Thus by degrees they ſlighted Henry's Orders, and became ſlaves to the Pope, whom they reſpected not only as a temporal Prince, but venerated and obeyed as Sovereign Pontiff, and Head of their Religion.

LEO being dead, this raſh and headſtrong Monk ſuffered the People and Clergy of Rome to chuſe a new Pope; but knowing that the Emperor would have depoſed him, and that would have intimidated the People, and ruined his whole project; he repreſented to the Clergy and People, that notwithſtanding the Election was free, yet out

out of Reſpect to the Emperor, he ought to be informed of the Election, and undertook to carry the News, being unwilling any one elſe ſhould go, for fear Henry ſhould diſcover his Treachery. Being therefore arrived at the Emperor's Court, he told him, that the Roman Clergy and People beſought his Imperial Majeſty to elect Gebehard, Biſhop of Aſtad, he being a man of an exemplary life and good morals. Henry made no difficulty to give his conſent, taking all the Monk ſaid to be true, and ſo much the rather, becauſe Gebehard was a near Relation of the Emperor *. Hildebrand therefore having performed his Commiſſion returned to Rome; and declared to the Clergy and People, that the Emperor was extremely pleaſed with the good choice they had made; and the new Pope took the name of Victor the ſecond.

EXCELLENT Schools, thoſe Monaſteries! for all the arts of tricking, and betraying both ſides at once! Where could we learn them but in Cloiſters? But let us purſue our enquiry into this Roman Cromwell's actions, and we ſhall ſee by how many acts of Fraud, Injuſtice, and Violence the Pope's Authority is founded, which has ever ſince been maintained by the ſame fraudulent and oppreſſive actions.

BY

* Leo Oſtienſis, Hiſt. Caſſinen. lib. 2. cap. 90. Platina, in Victore 2. Maimbourg, Hiſt. de la decadence de l' Empire, liv. 2. an. 1054.

BY the Cheats of this Monk, the Clergy and People got into poſſeſſion of chuſing a Pope, having already elected two, one after another. At this time Henry the third died, and left Henry the fourth his Son, and Succeſſor, a Youth of about five or ſix years under the guardianſhip of his Mother, who was paſſionately fond of the Counteſs Mathilda, daughter to Beatrix the ſiſter of Henry the third, the deceaſed huſband of the Empreſs Regent. And as Mathilda was entirely at the devotion of Hildebrand, her ghoſtly Father, conſequently the young Emperor's Rights were in great danger of being encroached upon by the Church, as they were in fact. For, during the time that Henry, by reaſon of his tender age, could take no cogniſance of theſe affairs, Victor the ſecond died; and the Roman Clergy and People, without acquainting the Emperor or his Council with it, elected Frederic, Abbot of Mount Caſſino, Pope, who took the name of Stephen the ninth †; and the Regent, that ſhe might not diſoblige the Counteſs Mathilda, winked at it, pretending not to be ſenſible of the wrong done the young Emperor, her ſon. Stephen, who was Pope but three months, dying, ſome of the moſt powerful of the Nobility, got Nunce Biſhop of Veleri elected by their Intrigues, who took the name of Bennet the tenth ‖. The news of this Election coming

* Lambert Schafnab. lib. 1. Maimbourg, Hiſt. de la decadence de l'Empire, liv. 3. an, 1076.

† Platina, in his Life. ‖ Ibid.

ing to Hildebrand, then at Florence, enjoying the Counteſs Mathilda's Favours, forced him to ſet out immediately for Rome; where being in company with Gerard Biſhop of Florence, he by his Credit got Bennet depoſed; and Gerard, afterwards ſtiled Nicholas the ſecond, choſen in his room *.

THIS Pope, who abſolutely depended on the pleaſure of Hildebrand and Mathilda, called a Council in the Lateran, wherein the power of chuſing a Pope, was not only taken from the Emperor, but from the Roman Clergy and People too. For, it was decreed, that none ſhould ſit in the Apoſtolic Chair, without being elected by the College of Cardinals †; and that if any one ſhould be elected Pope by Simony, or human favour, or in a tumultuous manner by the Soldiery, he ought to be declared an Apoſtate, and not a Succeſſor of the Apoſtles; and that it was lawful for the Cardinals to excommunicate him, and for the Roman Clergy and People to drive him out of the Holy See as a Robber, and in a word, to uſe all methods to deprive him of the Papacy ‖.

WE

* Platina, ubi ſupra. Leo Oſtiens, Hiſt. Caſſin. lib. 2. cap. 102. Lambert. Schafnab. lib. 1.

† They who would ſee the riſe of Cardinals, may conſult Father Paul's Treatiſe upon Benefices, art. 12. & Pierre Matthieu's Hiſt. of Henry the great, Book 7. pag. 975, &c.

‖ Platina, in Nicolao, 2.

WE are to obſerve that the Council did not dare openly to wreſt the right of electing from the Emperor, but yet gave a broad hint that they aimed at his Perſon and Authority, by thoſe ſhocking expreſſions, that ſtiled the Emperor's Right, Human Favour; and the Arms, he employed in ſupport of it, Military Tumults.

NICHOLAS, determining before he died to ſtretch the Papal Juriſdiction as far as he was able, not content with having deprived the Emperor of the Right of Election, ſent to Robert Duke of Calabria for a Body of Troops *, put himſelf at the head of them, and went and ſacked ſeveral Caſtles and Territories, which he ſeized into his own hands; in this manner he augmented the Territories of the Church, and died the true Vicar and Imitator of Moſes, but not of Chriſt.

ANSELM, Biſhop of Lucca, ſucceeded him under the name of Alexander the ſecond, and was elected by the Cardinals †. The Biſhops of Lombardy, being at that time jealous of the enormous Power of Hildebrand, who had ſet himſelf up as Arbiter of the Elections of the Popes, acquainted young Henry, then about twelve or thirteen years old, by Gilbert of Parma whom they ſent to him, with the Uſurpations that had been, and were ſtill every day forming at Rome

* Platina, ubi ſupra.

† Platina, in Alexandro 2.

Rome upon the Imperial Prerogatives; and in particular concerning the Election of a Pope. The Emperor hearing this, ordered Gilbert to go back into Italy, and command the Biſhops of Lombardy from him to proceed to the Election of a new Pope: and ſo they did. For, they called a Council, and elected Cadolus, Biſhop of Parma, for Pope. The Empreſs-Regent oppoſed this new Election, as being fonder of Mathilda than of her own Son, but could not prevent it. For, the new Pope was acknowledged by all the Princes of Lombardy, except Mathilda, who the more ſtill to ſhew her Affection for her dear Hildebrand, deſired an Army of her Huſband, which ſhe ſent to Rome, in order to turn Cadolus out of the See, as he really was, and Alexander reſtored in his room *.

THE news of theſe Revolutions reached the Emperor's Court, but no-body dared to publiſh it, for fear of the Regent's Diſpleaſure, who was in Hildebrand's Intereſts. There was not one but Otho, Archbiſhop of Cologne, who not being able to endure the Wrong done the Empire and Emperor, told the Empreſs boldly in her Son's preſence, that it was not decent for the Chriſtian State to be governed by a Woman. For which reaſon he deſired leave of the Emperor to go to Rome, and maintain his Right. Which being granted, he went and reprimanded Pope Alexander for ſeizing upon the Papacy

* Platina, *ubi ſupra.*

pacy againſt the Emperor's conſent, againſt the Laws, and ancient Cuſtoms. But Hildebrand, who did not ſtir an inch from the Pope, and had already declared himſelf Protector of the Roman Church, as Cromwel did of the Commonwealth of England, anſwered Otho ſaucily; that if the ancient cuſtom was to be obſerved, the Emperor had no right to elect a Pope, the People having enjoyed it before the Emperors *. That if they were to enquire into the preſent Poſſeſſor of that Right, it would be found not to be the Emperor, but the Clergy and People of Rome; they having choſen the five laſt Popes, namely, two in the Emperor Henry the third's life-time, aud three ſince his death; four of which had been elected without any Oppoſition from either the one or the other; that neither had the reigning Emperor's Council oppoſed the laſt Election of Alexander, becauſe they knew he had no right to it; and that if the Emperor had lately intermeddled in the Choice of another Pope, that Schiſm was not to be laid upon him, but upon thoſe who had adviſed him ſo ill, and made an advantage of his tender age to bring thoſe Evils upon the Church; but that beſides all the reaſons already given, there was one, to which there could be no reply, which was, that the late Council of Lateran had ordained, that the Election of a Pope ſhould be made by the Cardinals, in excluſion of all ſuch as pretended any right to it; and that as the De-

* Platina, ubi ſupra.

Decrees of the Council were thoſe of the Holy Ghoſt, God was rather to be obeyed than the Emperor.

THIS ſaucy Anſwer pronounced with a moſt arrogant air and tone, ſufficiently informed Otho of Hildebrand's exceſſive Power, and terrified him: conſidering too that Hildebrand had pretty plainly accuſed him as Author of the Schiſm, by the ill Counſels he had given the Emperor. So that he began to give ground, and made Henry do ſo too, who was beſides already diſpoſed to it by his Mother's Remonſtrances *. Wherefore an innocent Emperor was then ſeen, (ſtrange ſight!) declaring himſelf guilty of the Crimes of others; and as ſuch requiring to be puniſhed. This Emperor may be ſtiled a true Chriſtian, by following Chriſt's example, who was willing to be puniſhed for the Faults of Mankind. For Henry writ to the Pope deſiring him to call a Council, he being reſolved to do Penance for his Sins in the face of the whole Church. And indeed the Emperor went to Mantua, where the Council was held, and kept his Word †.

ALEXANDER dying, the Protector of the Papal Authority was choſen Pope by the Cardinals. He laid down the name of Hildebrand, and took that of Gregory the ſeventh. It was highly reaſonable that having done

* Lambert Schafnab. lib. 1. Greg. Epiſt. lib. 1. Ep. 85. Id. ibid. lib. 2. Epiſt. 30.

† Platina, ubi ſupra.

done the Church ſuch important ſervices, ſhe ſhould out of gratitude make him her Head. Gregory, as we have ſeen, having always endeavoured to raiſe the Papal, upon the ruins of the Imperial Juriſdiction; the firſt thing he attempted was to deſpoil the Emperor of his right of giving the Inveſtitures to Biſhops; but as he feared his Authority might not have all the weight with the German Princes that ſuch an enterprize required, eſpecially as the Emperor had not confirmed his Election; he diſpatched ſeveral Legates to Henry to inform him that he had been elected by the Clergy, but that he did not deſign to be conſecrated nor crowned till he was acquainted with his intentions *. They then inſinuated to the Emperor that Hildebrand was greatly reſpected and beloved by the Roman Clergy and People †. So that the Emperor not knowing how to do otherwiſe, ſeemed pleaſed with this Submiſſion of Gregory, and making a virtue of neceſſity, confirmed him.

BUT Henry was not long without ſeverely repenting him ‖. For Gregory, calling a Council in the Lateran, pronounced this Decree; that none ſhould preſume to accept of any Biſhoprick, Benefice, or other Eccleſiaſtical Dignity of the Emperor, declaring

* Platina, in Greg. 7. Maimbourg, Hiſt. de la decadence de l'Empire, liv. 3. an. 1073.

† Maimbourg, ubi ſupra.

‖ Maimbourg, ubi ſupra.

the Emperor, who ſhould grant them, and all that ſhould accept them, excommunicated; and to palliate this his new Uſurpation, he pretended, it was to prevent the Simonies, that were ſo frequent *.

THE Council being broke up, the Pope ſent his Legates to the Emperor, to abſolve him from the Excommunications he had incurred by his Simonies during Alexander the ſecond's Reign: and ordered his Legates to treat him upon the foot of an excommunicated Perſon in caſe of refuſal to receive Abſolution from them. But the Emperor, already accuſtomed to obey the Popes, ſubmitted to every thing the Legates propoſed. However, he would not allow them to publiſh the Council's Decrees in Germany, nor would he baniſh the Court thoſe Biſhops, whom Gregory had excommunicated. This provoked the Pope to ſuch a degree, as to cite the Emperor before the firſt Synod to be held at Rome, upon pain of a ſecond Excommunication, in caſe of Diſobedience †.

THE Emperor at laſt loſt all Patience. He groſly affronted the Legates, who had preſumed to bring him ſo inſolent a meſſage, and ſoon after called a Council at Worms, where the German Biſhops declared Gregory's Election unjuſt and illegal ‖. To this end they ſent Roland a Parmeſan Prieſt to Rome, to

* Platin. in Greg. 7. & Maimbourg, ubi ſup. an. 1074.
† Maimbourg, ubi ſup. an. 1074 & 1075.
‖ Maimbourg, ubi ſupra.

to publiſh the Reſolution of the Council, and to command the Pope no more to intermeddle in the affairs of the Papacy, and the Cardinals no longer to acknowledge him as Pope, he being ſuſpended, but to ſubmit to him whom the Emperor had choſen *.

GREGORY, tho' naturally violent and fiery, yet heard it all with an extreme moderation; but the next day held a Synod, and repreſented to the Prelates that were preſent; that Henry, far from obeying his Citation, or repenting him of his Crimes, had declared himſelf an Enemy to the Church; that therefore he excommunicated him, diveſted him of the Imperial and Regal Government, and abſolved all his Subjects from their Oath of Fidelity and Allegiance †. The Pope having lanced his Thunder againſt the Emperor, did the ſame againſt the German and Lombard Biſhops and Prelates, who had ſtood faithfully by their Sovereign; but they laughed at them. For, they immediately met at Pavia, and on their ſide excommunicated him, and declared that Hildebrand had never been any thing but an Intruder, by the illegal and wicked methods he had taken to raiſe himſelf to the Pontificate ‖. Gregory's next ſtep, was to ſend circular Letters to all Chriſtian Princes, to let them know they were no longer to acknowledge Henry for Emperor, upon pain of falling under Ex-

* Sigeb. Chron. ad ann. 1077. Plat. ubi ſupra.
† Plat. ubi ſupra. Maimbourg, ubi ſup. an. 1076.
‖ Maimbourg, ubi ſupra.

communication; and he drew Rodolf, Duke of Suabia over to his Party, by promiſing him the Empire *. The Emperor on his ſide was not wanting in letting all Princes know, that Gregory's Proceedings were unjuſt. But, notwithſtanding his juſt Remonſtrances, he could not hinder the Alliance formed in Germany in the Pope's favour; nor keep in the Saxons, who were already in Arms at Gregory's inſtigation †. Wherefore Henry, by the advice of his Council, ſeeing to what ſad Calamities he expoſed the Empire, unleſs he reconciled himſelf to the Pope, reſolved to go and aſk his Pardon, provided he took off his Excommunication.

THUS the unfortunate Henry ſetting out in company with the Empreſs his Wife, and one of his Children, and with a very ſmall Retinue, paſſed the Alps in the beginning of the Winter; ſuffering great pain and many hardſhips on account of the cold and great quantity of ſnow that was newly fallen. His arrival in Italy ſurpriſed and confounded the crafty Gregory, fearing leſt the Emperor's preſence might give an unexpected turn to affairs. For greater ſecurity therefore he retired into the fortreſs of Cannoſſo ‖, with his dearly beloved Dutcheſs Mathilda, whither the Emperor came ſoon after. But he could have no admittance, nor audience of the Pope, tho' ſeveral Princes uſed all their endea-

* Maimbourg, ubi ſupra.

† Platina, ubi ſupra. Maimbourg, ubi ſupra. Sigeb. Chronic. an. 1076.

‖ Maimbourg, ubi ſupra. an. 1077. Plat. ubi ſupra.

deavours to reconcile him with the implacable Gregory, who finding himſelf importuned by their continual Intreaties, and a very little ſoftened by thoſe of his dear Benefactreſs Mathilda, ſaid; that he would have admitted the Emperor, provided he had promiſed to do whatever he ſhould order him. Henry having promiſed to comply with every thing, he was conducted to the firſt gate of the Fortreſs, where he waited the Pope's Orders with all ſubmiſſion; which were; that he ſhould go in alone, which he did; and when he had paſſed the firſt Court, he was ſtopped by Officers at entering the ſecond, who forced him to lay aſide his Imperial Robes, and put him on a coarſe woollen frock, like a hair-cloth, and left him in that condition, and bare-foot waiting the Pope's laſt Orders *. Henry finding himſelf in this wretched ſituation, enduring Hunger, and the greateſt ſeverities of the Winter, with many ſighs implored his pardon. But the inflexible Gregory left him to ſuffer for three whole days running before he would vouchſafe to ſee him. And at laſt, more to oblige the Dutcheſs Mathilda, who beſought him to do it, than in pity to his ſufferings, he admitted him on the fourth, and promiſed him his pardon, in caſe he ſubmitted to his Judgment at the time and place he ſhould appoint to examine into the Crimes, with which he ſtood charged. But that he was not to preſume to exerciſe

* Platin. & Maimb. ubi ſupra.

ciſe his Imperial Authority, till he had received a full Abſolution *.

THIS great Abjectneſs of the Emperor leſſened the Love and Eſteem, which the Biſhops of Germany and Lombardy had for him, nor could he ever regain it, till he had promiſed them to revenge himſelf the very firſt opportunity that offered. During all this, the Confederates and Saxons choſe Rodolf Duke of Suabia Emperor of Germany. Henry upon this news ſent immediately to the Pope, intimating that he ought to terrify him with Excommunication, from proceeding unjuſtly to ſeize upon his Kingom †: but he could not obtain it from the Pope, who acted in concert with Rodolf ‖. So that the Emperor was obliged to give Rodolf Battle, in which much Blood was ſpilt on both ſides, without either of the Armies being able to aſcribe the Victory to themſelves. The Emperor came to a ſecond Engagement with him, but gained no great Advantage. However, in the third he found himſelf ſo much ſuperior to his Enemies, that he ſaw now was the time to recover that Honour which he had loſt with the Pope. To this end he again writ to Gregory to excommunicate Rodolf, but all in vain; the Pope was ſtill obſtinately bent not to grant him his Demand. And on the contrary, ſeeing that the Emperor had no mind to obſerve what he had promiſed him in the Fortreſs,

* Platin. & Maimb. ubi ſupra.
† Platina, & Maimbourg, ubi ſupra.
‖ Sigeb. Chron. an. 1077.

reſs, he again excommunicated and depoſed him, and beſides, ſent the Crown of the Empire to Rodolf *, and then threw off the Maſque. For, by confirming the Decree he had made, forbidding all Perſons whomſoever to accept any Biſhoprick, Monaſtery, or Benefice, he no longer alledged that it was to prevent the frequency of Simonies; but formally declared that whoever accepted them, as well as all Kings, Dukes, and Princes that conferred them, ſhould be excommunicated †.

THE Emperor being informed of the Pope's Proceedings, reſolved to act with him like a Man, and not like a Child, as he had hitherto done. To that end he ordered all the Biſhops of Germany and Lombardy to aſſemble at Bruxen, a City of Tirol, where being met, they a ſecond time depoſed Gregory, and ſet up Gilbert a Parmeſan in his ſtead ‖. In that Council Gregory was accuſed of ſeveral enormous Crimes **, which I ſhall not enter into, that I may not digreſs from my Subject.

HENRY having at length conquered, and rid himſelf of Rodolf, who was killed in an Engagement, notwithſtanding Gregory had pro-

* Corona ei a Papa miſſa, cui erat inſcriptum: Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolfo. Sigeb. Chron. an. 1077.------ Plat. ubi ſupra. Maimbourg, an. 1080.

† Platina, ubi ſupra.

‖ Platina, & Maimbourg, ubi ſupra.

** Vide Avent. annal. Bojor. lib. 5. pag. 569. Edit. Ingoldſtad.

promiſed him the Victory *, in order to inſpire him with Courage, reſolved to turn Gregory out of the Papal Chair. He therefore marched into Italy with a powerful Army, and having routed, and diſperſed the Dutcheſs Mathilda's Forces, marched directly to Rome †, with great difficulty forced Gregory to fly, and cauſed Gilbert, Archbiſhop of Ravenna, to be acknowledged, who ſtiled himſelf Clement the third; and ſome time after Gregory died at Salerno, where he had taken Refuge ‖.

HENRY then, having driven Gregory out of Rome, had the Joy to ſee himſelf freed from a powerful, and a very formidable Enemy: nor was he in the wrong to fear him, for Gregory was Maſter of all the talents requiſite for arriving at the height of human grandeur; and tho' his greateſt Enemies ** have endeavoured to make his name odious to Poſterity, yet it cannot be denied but he was a very great Man. For, it was he that chiefly advanced †† the Papal Authority, as he ſet the Popes at liberty by throwing off the Emperor's yoke, and by making Slaves of thoſe, who had formerly been his Maſters. Actions, which would in fact be blameable, and wicked, according to

* Sigebert. Chronicon. an. 1080.

† Platina, & Maimbourg, ubi ſupra.

‖ May 24, 1085, in the 13th year of his Pontificate. Leo Oſtiens. lib. 3. cap. 64.

** Cardinal. Benno in vita Greg. 7. and many others.

†† Otto. Friſ. Chron. lib. 6. cap. 35. Onuphr. Panv. in Greg. 7.

to the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, but are holy and laudable, according to the maxims of good Policy.

IN this manner was the Papal Authority eſtabliſhed; an Authority that had long ſtruggles with that of the Emperor, but at laſt got the better. For Henry the fifth yielded up the Rights of Election and Inveſtiture to Calixtus the ſecond *, both for himſelf and his Succeſſors; being able to find no other expedient for putting an end to the Troubles that had ſo long laid waſte the Empire, than to ſatisfy the Ambition of the Popes, by giving up the Imperial Rights.

AT the ſame time the Princes of Italy ſhook off the yoke of the Emperors of Germany, not only from the Ambition that each of them had to be abſolute, but becauſe they were ſtrongly ſollicited to it by the Pope †, who wiſhed to ſee the Emperor driven out of Italy, that he might remain the moſt powerful Prince there. The Popes on their ſide too endeavoured to make themſelves abſolute Maſters of Rome, but the People oppoſed them. For, being already grown jealous of their too great Power, they reſolved to recover their ancient Liberty. To that end they choſe an Officer, which they called a Patrician, and they inveſted him with the ſame Authority as the ancient Conſuls: but

* Abbas Uſpergens, in vita Henr. 5. Imper. Onuphr. Panvin. acceſs. in Hiſt. Platin. poſt Calixt. 2.

† Macchiav. Hiſt, Flor. lib. 1.

but this new Commonwealth ſupported itſelf but a very little while, for it was formed under Innocent the ſecond *, and deſtroyed by Eugenius the third †.

THE ſucceeding Popes went on encreaſing their Power, and eſtabliſhing their Authority more and more at Rome, ſo that at laſt, and in the ſame Century, Innocent the third completely brought under the Slavery of a Prieſt that City, which in former Ages was Miſtreſs of almoſt the whole Earth, making the Roman Senate and Governor take the Oaths of Allegiance and Fidelity to him ‖.

THERE remain two Reflexions for me to make as the concluſion of this Diſcourſe. Firſt, that if Conſtantin could have foreſeen the Evils, that his Succeſſors and the Empire itſelf were to ſuffer from the Ambition of the Biſhops of Rome; far from becoming a Convert to Chriſtianity, aggrandizing the Biſhops, and enriching the Clergy, he would have perſecuted and exterminated them, tho' at the hazard of ſuffering the Torments of Hell, with which the Prieſts ** had threatened him to make him turn

* Onuphr. Panvin. acceſſ. ad Hiſt. Platin. poſt Innocent. 2.

† Between Innocent and Eugenius there reigned two Popes, Celeſtin 2 and Lucius 2. See Platina, in the Lives of them.

‖ Sigonius de Regno Italiæ, lib. 15. pag. 336. Edit. Hannoviæ. Et Maimbourg, ubi ſupra, an. 1200.

** Zoſim. pag. 104. Edit. Oxon.

turn Chriſtian. And therein he would have imitated the People of Japan, when the Jeſuits upon the charitable pretence of converting them from Idolatry to the Worſhip of the True God, endeavoured to ſeize upon that vaſt Province, and deprive the Inhabitants of their Effects and their Liberty. But theſe People, who had their temporal goods more at heart than the ſalvation of their Souls, and had beſides before their eyes many inſtructive examples of their modern and antichriſtian manner of converting Nations, by robbing them of their Riches, their Liberty, and often of their Life, very prudently preferred an active, to a paſſive Perſecution, by putting the Jeſuits and all the new Converts at Japan to death *. By this means the Japaneſe furiouſly encreaſed the Jeſuits Book of Martyrs; ſo that thoſe good Fathers are infinitely obliged to them for procuring ſo great a Bleſſing to the holy Society of Jeſus.

MY ſecond Reflexion is, that had not the Apoſtles made Biſhops perpetual, the Chriſtian Common-wealth could never have been rent aſunder by the Ambition of Prieſts, for the Reaſons advanced in my fourth Diſcourſe. Or if, when elected, Princes, and the reſt of the Faithful had not enriched them by their exceſſive Piety, it is moſt ſure, that few would have coveted to be Biſhops. For ſo much Blood that has been ſpilt in purſuit of a Biſhoprick, would have been ſpared, if Princes had always let it remain poor, as it was

* Fran. Solier, Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. du Japon.

was in the time of Linus and Cletus, Biſhops of Rome; The Temporal Dignities annexed to the Eccleſiaſtic, having been the real and ſole cauſes, that relaxed the Diſcipline, and corrupted the Manners of Prieſts *.

* Fleury, ubi ſupra, & Ammian. Marcellin, lib. 27. cap. 3.

DIS-

DISCOURSE VII.

That neither the Spiritual nor Temporal Right of the POPE, BISHOPS, and CLERGY, are warranted by the SCRIPTURE.

IN treating of this matter I had reſolved not to enter into the Right called Divine, it being neceſſary for an Author, who would accompliſh ſuch an Undertaking, to be well acquainted with all the arts of Theological Wrangling, and to be beſides aſſiſted by Faith. Now as I am wholly unacquainted with the former, and a ſtranger to the latter, it is impoſſible for me to diſcover the nature of this Right: wherefore I have thrown it wholly aſide in my former Diſcourſe, neither am I able, or willing to enter into it here, it being altogether unknown to me. But to ſatisfy the curioſity of ſuch as believe the Pope to have been inveſted with his Right by

by Jeſus Chriſt, who, according to them, whilſt alive * made an irrevocable deed of gift of a ſpiritual and temporal Authority to Peter; of whom the Sovereign Roman Pontifs are really the univerſal Heirs and Succeſſors, tho' not Imitators: to ſatisfy ſuch, I ſay, I will carefully examine the Scripture, and the principal paſſages, whereon the Pope's Authority is founded. And I flatter myſelf that I ſhall do the Papiſts my Brethren a very conſiderable ſervice, and at the ſame time make my court to the Reverend and Orthodox Biſhops and Divines of this bleſſed Kingdom.

WE have ſeen in the firſt Diſcourſe, how great an enemy the Spirit of Chriſt was to all worldly Grandeur, and in the third, when I laid open his views and deſigns, we find that his only aim was, to make the condition of Men equal, by ſetting up a perfect Democracy. Of this my ſecond Diſcourſe was a confirmation, in which we ſee that the Apoſtles and primitive Chriſtians taught the ſame Doctrine as Chriſt, and followed his example, there being neither Authority, nor preheminence among them of any kind, they being all of one mind, every thing being in common among them, and laſtly, they being all equal. In the other Diſcourſes, we have ſeen the cauſes that corrupted the Manners of Chriſtians, and the riſe and progreſs of Eccleſiaſtical Grandeur, which indeed raiſed itſelf againſt the Will of Chriſt to ſuch a height, as at length to overturn his Syſtem.

AFTER

* Inter Vivos.

AFTER a clear demonſtration of theſe Truths, which I hope I have given, it were a vain Undertaking to attack the Right I have juſt now mentioned, which is a mere chimera. However, I am reſolved to examine it, not ſo much for the ſake of oppoſing it, as of ſhewing the Arguments who ſupport it. Their firſt is grounded upon thoſe words of Chriſt to Peter; "And I will "give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom "of Heaven; aud whatſoever thou ſhalt "bind on Earth, ſhall be bound in Hea-"ven, and whatſoever thou ſhalt looſe on "Earth, ſhall be looſed in Heaven" *a*. They therefore ſay that Chriſt then gave to Peter, and his Succeſſors the Popes, a full Power to looſe the bond of ſubmiſſion from Subjects to their Sovereigns, by ſetting them free from their Oath of Allegianc: to depoſe Kings, and diſpoſe of their Kingdoms to whom they pleaſe: in a word, this is the paſſage that gives a ſanction to the actions of Popes, be they juſt or unjuſt, good or bad, by making them infallible.

a Matth. xvi. 19.

THEIR ſecond paſſage is that where Chriſt commands each of his Apoſtles to buy a Sword, to which they anſwered, Lord, here are two; and he ſaid unto them, it is enough *b*. Our Reverend Divines interpret this paſſage allegorically, and ſay the two words ſignify the Pope's ſpiritual and temporal Authority: that the material Sword, that is Arms, ought to be taken up in defence of the Church, and the ſpiritual, by

b Luke xxii. 36, 38.

by the Church or Pope againſt their Enemies *. It is to be noted that none of the Fathers of the Church, except Bernard, have given this Interpretation to that paſſage; nor is it to be wondered at for being ſo good an Interpreter, for he was a comical Prophet too †.

THE third paſſage brought by our holy Doctors in defence of the Pope's Authority, is that where Chriſt ſays to Peter; Feed my Lambs *a*. And they inſiſt that Chriſt then veſted Peter with the ſame Power over all Chriſtians, as a Shepherd has over his Flock. So that, ſhould he perceieve that the Wolf was got amongſt his Sheep, it is lawful for him to turn him out; nay, and to kill him too, to prevent his making any more havock among them. In the ſame manner the Pope, who has ſucceeded to Peter's ſpiritual and temporal Empire, as we have ſeen in the preceding Diſcourſe, ought for the ſervice and ſupport of his Chriſtian flock by all poſſible methods ‖ to perſecute, drive out, deſtroy and exterminate Hereticks, who are the true Wolves, but more rapacious and miſchievous than the others: for the latter only hurt the Body of the Sheep, whereas the former hurt not the Body, but per-

a John xxi. 15.

* Sed is quidem pro Eccleſia, ille ab Eccleſia exercendus eſt; ille Sacerdotis, is militis manu. Bernard. de Conſid. lib. 4. cap. 3.

† Vide Maimbourg, Hiſt. des Croiſades, liv. 3. a l'annee 1146.

‖ Omni modo quo poteſt. Bellarm. de Rom. Pont.

pervert and ruin the Souls of the Faithful, and eſpecially always bear a grudge to the Shepherd *.

THESE are the paſſages, whereon the Pope with the approbation of Reverend Divines grounds his Juriſdiction both ſpiritual and temporal. Now as I intend to ſhew how ill-grounded it is, and give a ſatisfactory anſwer to the Arguments urged by our good Doctors, it behoves me to lay aſide all Prejudice, and, before entering the liſts with them, examine whether the Principles, whereon the matter in queſtion bottoms, be right or wrong. For, ſhould they be wrong or falſe, I ſhould give myſelf a great deal of trouble † to no purpoſe, becauſe the whole reſult of it would be falſe. Now the Principles in queſtion conſiſt in thoſe Scripture's paſſages, viz. whether Chriſt really had thoſe Converſations with Peter and the reſt of the Apoſtles, and in particular that with Peter after his Reſurrection, to whom, amongſt other things, he ſays, Feed my Lambs. Wherefore Chriſt's Reſurrection muſt be firſt proved; not by the Authority of Faith, which is the practice of our Reverend Divines, but by ſuch circumſtances and reaſons, as may verify and evidently prove the poſſibility of ſo ſtrange a fact. For, ſhould it be proved on the other hand that the

* The Pope.

† See what Bayle ſays in his Penſees diverſes, ch. 49. & Contin. des Penſees diverſes, ch. 47. in order to ſhew how ridiculous it is to enquire what a thing is, before we have examined whether it really exiſts.

Reſurrection was an imaginary, ſuppoſititious, and impoſſible thing, Chriſt conſequently could never ſay thoſe words. Thus, the queſtion would be rather ended than begun, and the Right of Peter and his Succeſſors would fall to the ground without any foundation. I am well aware that were the Converſion of an Heathen of good ſenſe to be undertaken; before he ſubmitted to the Pope's Infallibility, he would deſire to be firſt convinced of the Truth of the Reſurrection by ſolid Reaſons. I am aware too that we ſhould come at the knowledge of ſeveral very eſſential Truths by an examination of this important queſtion. But, as they might leſſen the Veneration of Chriſtians for our great Legiſlator, and that I ſubmit my reaſon to Faith on that occaſion, I ſhall not dive into them, that I may not be the cauſe of ſo much miſchief, having a great reſpect for him on account of the perfection of his Laws. Suppoſing therefore that Chriſt had thoſe converſations with Peter and his other Apoſtles, I ſhall, after making one Reflection, give my Reader the Opinions of the ancient Fathers and Doctors of the Church on this matter.

CHRIST recommended his Diſciples to Peter, knowing from many inſtances that Peter loved him more than any of them. And indeed he had given him ſtrong proofs of his Affection, by throwing himſelf into the Sea to meet him *a*, and by cutting off Malchus's ear in his defence *b*. Wherefore Chriſt

a Mat. xiv. 28, 29.
b John xviii. 10.

Chriſt being riſen, thrice aſked him, whether he loved him more than the reſt of his Diſciples, whereunto he ſtill anſwered; Lord, thou knoweſt that I love thee; whereupon Jeſus replied, Feed my Lambs *a*. That is, ſince thou loveſt me, and knoweſt the love I bear to my Diſciples, and that I can tarry no longer with them, love them as tenderly as I have loved them, aſſiſt them in their wants, and comfort them under their afflictions; be kind to them, as the Father was to his prodigal ſon *b*. Forgive them their offences, as I have forgiven thine; and if any man ſhall deny me, forgive him as I forgave thee when thou deniedſt me *c*. And if any Diſciple ſeparates from the reſt, refuſing to obey my Tenets, follow the good Shepherd's example, whoſe ſheep went aſtray *d*: for my will is that thou pardoneſt, and not perſecute *e*. But above all remember the anſwer I made thee, when thou aſkedſt me how often thou oughteſt to pardon thy brother, and the hiſtory I told thee of the ſervant, whom his Sovereign had forgiven a large debt, and who afterwards had no pity on his fellow-ſervant, who owed him an hundred pence. For, thou knoweſt that after the King had called him, he ſaid unto him; O thou wicked ſervant, I forgave thee all that debt, becauſe thou aſkedſt me; ſhouldeſt not thou alſo have had compaſſion on thy fellow-ſervant for a ſmall one? but ſince thou haſt no compaſſion upon others, I will have none upon thee *f*. Let this Parable then be a pattern for thy actions; for,

a John xxi. 15, 16, 17.

b Luk. xv. 20, 22, 24, 32.

c Ib. xxii. 57, 58, 60, 61.

d Ib. xv. 4, 5, 6, 7.

e Matth. ix. 13.

f Ib. xviii. 23, &c.

if thou doeſt not ſincerely and heartily forgive thoſe, who ſhall offend thee, neither will God forgive thee thy Offences *a*.

a Ubi ſupra, 35.

WITH ſuch intentions Chriſt bade Peter feed his Lambs: and that this is the genuine ſenſe of Chriſt's words, his Doctrine and behaviour prove: the Doctrine and Lives of the Apoſtles confirm it; nor did the primitive Fathers and Doctors of the Church ever interpret it otherwiſe; ſince they tell us, that Chriſt recommended it to Peter to take care of his Diſciples, which care extended to the inſtructing them in his Doctrine, exhorting them by his own good example to perſevere in the ſame, and aſſiſting them in their Neceſſities *. They have beſides told us, that Chriſt entruſted Peter with the care of the Soul, but not with that of the Body, which is a branch of the Right of Princes, or of ſuch as have the adminiſtration of the Civil Power †.

SUCH was the Opinion of the Fathers on the other paſſages I have quoted, nor did one of them ever imagine, that Chriſt had given Peter any right over the Temporal of Princes, and other Chriſtians: on the

tians

* Ambroſ. lib. de Dig. Sacerd. cap. 2. Chryſoſtom. Hom. 79. in Mat. chap. 24. Auguſtin. de Agon. Chriſt. cap. 30. tract. 47. In Johan. in Pſalm. 108, &c. Idem de Civit. Dei, lib. 5.

† Regi corpora commiſſa ſunt, Sacerdoti animæ: ille cogit, hic exhortatur; ille habet arma ſenſibilia, hic ſpiritualia. Chryſoſtom. Hom. 4. de verbo Iſai.

contrary, they are unanimous that all Chriſtians to a man are bound to obey their Sovereigns, tho' Pagans or Heretics. The ſame Doctrine was taught by Chriſt himſelf, his Apoſtles, and by the primitive Chriſtians. For Chriſt tells us, that we are to render unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's *a*. He payed the Tribute as others did *b*, and never preached any ſeditious Doctrine againſt Herod, notwithſtanding that he knew he uſed all means to take away his Life. The Apoſtles preach Fidelity and Obedience to Sovereigns, becauſe they are ordained of God: whoſoever therefore reſiſteth them, reſiſteth God *c*. And Peter, Chriſt's firſt Vicar, and firſt Pope, declares, that we are not only to reſpect and obey thoſe that are good; but expreſsly commands us to be obedient even to wicked Kings *: becauſe, ſays he, it is pleaſing to God to bear afflictions, and ſuffer unjuſtly for his ſake *d*. This Declaration of Peter, is a plain proof that the Pope and all other of the Clergy ought to be obedient to Princes; he having learned Chriſt's Intentions from himſelf. Wherefore, had Chriſt given him a Power of commanding over them, or rebelling againſt them, if they were Tyrants, he never would have enjoined us to obey *non tantum bonis & modeſtis, ſed etiam dyſcolis.*

a Luke x. 25.
b Matth. xvii. 27.
c Romans xiii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7.
d 1 Pet. ii. 13, 17, 18, 19.

THE

* This is a very heterodox Tenet, when Princes are wicked; but we muſt not ſpeak ill of it, as coming from the Apoſtles.

THE primitive Chriſtians followed this Doctrine, and the Biſhops of thoſe early times, who had not entirely turned their back upon the Morality of the Goſpel, did not oppoſe it. For, Tertullian informs us that the Chriſtians might with great eaſe have ſhook off the yoke of the Heathen Emperors, if they had had a mind to do ſo: they being very numerous both in the Cities, and Country. But they did not attempt it, having learned from the Goſpel; that it was better to ſink under the weight of Oppreſſion, than defend themſelves by the death of their enemies, or by rebelling againſt the Prince that perſecuted them *.

HAVING combated the Doctrine of our holy Divines with the Authority of the Scripture, of the Fathers, and Doctors of the Church, it now remains to be proved that Chriſt never had the leaſt thought of conferring any Authority at all, either ſpiritual or temporal upon Peter by the words, *& quodcunq; ligaveris, &c.* ſince one of theſe two conſequences muſt follow; either that Chriſt did, or did not confer it upon Peter. If he did not confer it, we agree with the Fathers, and the diſpute is at an end. But if he did confer it by virtue of the words *quodcunque ligaveris, &c.* it muſt be owned he conferred it upon all his other Diſciples: for he tells them too, that whatſoever they ſhould bind upon earth, ſhould be bound in Hea-

* Tertull. in Apologet. cap. 87.

Heaven *a*; and by the ſame rule as the Pope is Peter's Succeſſor, the Prieſts, Monks, and Chriſtians in general are the Succeſſors of Chriſt's Diſciples. Now if the Pope has a power of depoſing Monarchs, taking away their Dominions, pardoning or puniſhing the Sins of Men, ſaving or damning Souls; it cannot be denied but the meaneſt Prieſt, or ſlovenly Monk, nay every Chriſtian, tho' a Quaker, has the ſame right, and that as well grounded as that of the Pope, or of Biſhops: the reſt of the Diſciples, having been veſted with this pretended Power immediately by Chriſt himſelf, as well as Peter. Now were ſo ridiculous a thing to be maintained, a thing ſo abſurd, and contrary to all ſenſe and reaſon, we muſt brand Chriſt with the name of Liar, conſidering he would have acted contrary to what he commanded his Apoſtles in expreſs words, when he found them quarrelling who ſhould be the greateſt amongſt them. For, he gave them a ſevere Reprimand, ſaying; "the "Kings of the Gentiles exerciſe lordſhip "over them; but ye ſhall not be ſo; but "he that is greateſt among you, let him "be as the younger; and he that is chief "as he that doth ſerve *b*." That is in plain terms; it is not my intent that you ſhould exerciſe any Authority over the Nations, or Superiority over each other.

a Matth. xviii, 18.

b Luk. xxii 24, 25, 26.

LET us then agree that the ſenſe I have put upon the words, Feed my Flock, is the true ſenſe of it; it being agreeable to the Doc-

Doctrine and Manners of Chriſt, to the opinion of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, and in a word the Life and Eſſence of the Chriſtian Religion. Whereas that of our venerable Divines is contrary to the Laws of Chriſt, to his own example, and that of the Apoſtles. For, beſides the convincing reaſons already produced, the duty of Biſhops, appointed by the Apoſtles, ſhew us that the Apoſtles and primitive Chriſtians, had no notion of any Authority conferred on them by Chriſt, thoſe very Biſhops having none over the Faithful, as appears in my fourth Diſcourſe, wherein I have ſhewn the duties of their Office.

NOR did the Popes, or Biſhops of Rome think they had any till the time of Conſtantin, and long after. For we find Gregory the firſt, in a Letter to the Emperor Maurice, making uſe of theſe terms. What am I, ſays he, who am ſpeaking to my Maſters, but duſt and a Worm? As for me, who am to obey, I have executed your Commands, and fulfilled my duty in performing the Emperor's orders *. Pelagius the firſt writing to Childebert, King of France, amongſt other things tells him, that, according to the Scripture, Popes ought to ſubmit to Kings, in the ſame manner as other men †. Stephen the ſecond, aſking aid of Pepin againſt the Lombards, thus expreſſes himſelf, which is a ſtrong proof of

* Greg. lib. 2. Epiſt. 62. ad Maurit. Imp.
† Pelag. 1. Epiſt. ad Childebert. Reg.

of the great Reſpect paid by the Popes to Sovereign Princes. I aſk this Favour of thee, being in preſence of thee proſtrate at thy feet *. And Leo the third, having anointed Charlemagne, proſtrated himſelf according to the ancient cuſtom, and adored him before all the People †.

WHO would ever have believed that the Succeſſors of thoſe Popes, who had been ſo humble to the Emperors, and other Princes, ſhould have grown ſo proud as to make an Emperor wait three days barefoot upon the ice, before he would vouchſafe to give him audience, as has been already mentioned in my preceding Diſcourſe. And that Alexander the third ſhould ſet his foot upon the Emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa's neck before the gate of St. Mark at Venice, in preſence of the Doge, the Senate, ſeveral Cardinals, and Biſhops, and a Crowd of Spectators that flocked to ſo unheard of and ſcandalous a Sight ‖.

IT

* Steph. 2. Epiſt. 4. ad Pepin. Reg.

† Eginhard. in vita Caroli magni Imperat.

‖ ——— Iſto igitur fœdere Alexander Pontifex inito, confeſtim ad januas templi Divi Marci acceſſit, & ibidem univerſo adſtante populo, Imperatori juſſit ut ſe humi proſterneret, & veniam denuo poſtularet. At Sum. Pont. Cæſaris Imperatoris collum pede comprimens, ait: ſcriptum eſt ſuper Aſpidem & Baſiliſcum ambulabis, & conculcabis Leonem & Draconem. At Fridericus; non tibi, ſed Petro, cui Succeſſores, pareo. Et Pontifex reſpondit; & mihi & Petro, &c. Naucler. Chronic. Generat. 40. pag. 856. Maimbourg the Jeſuit, tho' out of ſhame he denies the fact, yet owns; ---- that the Square of St. Mark, being crowded with an infinite number of People who flocked

IT is therefore againſt Chriſt's intent, and all human right, that the Authority of the Popes and Biſhops has been ſet up, and was Ambition that ſet it up, helped forward by their fraud and force, more than by the ſophiſtry of our reverend Divines. Tho' we muſt ſay no ill of their Doctrine, becauſe it opens the Pope an eaſy way to ruin Princes, that are ſtubborn, and will not ſuffer him to encroach upon their Prerogatives, by declaring them Heretics: a Doctrine very favourable indeed to the Sovereign Pontifs, but very pernicious to Kings! authorizing Rebellion, and all ſorts of Aſſaſſinations. Many are the Princes who have felt the ill effects of it, and amongſt the reſt, Henry the third, King of France, who ought eternally to be an example to Princes. The ſtory of his unhappy and tragical end will be an authentic proof of what I am advancing.

HENRY then was excommunicated by Sixtus the fifth, not for killing the Duke and Cardinal of Guiſe, but becauſe the Pope was a Favourer of the League, and knew the King's Party was weak. Wherefore by excommunicating the King he would have entirely ruined him. And this the Biſhop of Mans, then at Rome, acquainted him with, in

flocked in to ſee ſo agreeable a ſight, the Emperor threw himſelf down at the Pope's feet, kiſſed them, &c. Hiſt. de la decadence de l' Empire, liv. 5. an. 1176. One muſt be a Jeſuit, and not a Chriſtian, to call ſo raſh, and inſolent an action agreeable.

in a Letter, telling him that if he had a mind to be abſolved from his Excommunication, he need only beat the Forces of the League *, which was confirmed to him by the King of Navarre, who ſaid to him; Sire, we muſt gain a Victory, and that immediately; for, with it we ſhall have our Abſolution, but without it, we ſhall always remain excommunicated †. And in effect he ſaid true, for Eccleſiaſtical Policy is always to be on the ſtrongeſt ſide, be it ever ſo unjuſt or tyrannical. The King did not fail to make uſe of the good Advice given him by the King Navarre, and the Biſhop; and had already reduced the Inhabitants of Paris to the laſt extremities, when he was ſtruck by the Thunder lanced againſt him from the Vatican; thus with his Life ended his Victories.

JAMES CLEMENT, a Dominican Fryar, was the inſtrument of the Pope's vengeance: he was then about four and twenty, and newly admitted into Prieſt's Orders: in other regards, extremely ignorant and clowniſh, and having no genius for polite learning, had given himſelf up to all the rogueries practiſed in Convents; being beſides of a temper exceeding melancholy, and ſuſceptible of the blackeſt Imaginations that an overheated bile could ſuggeſt. This Wretch, firmly

* Maimbourg, Hiſt. de la Ligue, liv. 3. an. 1589 --- Davila, delle Guerre Civili di Francia, lib. 10. an 1589.

† Maimbourg, ubi ſupra. Davila, ubi ſupra.

firmly perſuaded that it was an heroic action worthy of the Crown of Martyrdom to kill him, whom the Clergy, always the greateſt Zealots in appearance, ſtiled Herod, Julian the Apoſtate, the Vaudois, and Perſecutor of the Faithful, had long formed this execrable deſign, but kept it cloſe in his breaſt for ſome time. His common converſation turned upon fighting for the Faith, and laying down his own life ſo he could take away that of the Tyrant: and when he heard of the King's Succeſſes, ſuch as the taking of Eſtampes ahd Pontoiſe, he boaſted aloud that God had commanded him to give a memorable Blow, but that it was not yet time, and he muſt ſtay till it was come, for which reaſon his Companions, in deriſion, called him Captain Clement.

As this devout Diſciple of the great St. Dominic was preying upon himſelf, and waſting away, beſeeching God to extend his Mercy to his afflicted People, and to confound the Enemy that oppreſſed them; one night as he lay in his bed, God hearing his fervent Prayers, ſent down his Angel of Light, who, ſhewing him a naked ſword, ſaid; that he was a Meſſenger from the Almighty God, who came to aſſure him, that the Tyrant was to be put to death by him; that he would do well to think of it, and prepare for ſo glorious an expedition, the Crown of Martyrdom being reſerved for him. Hereupon this Godly Fanatic went and declared the Viſion he had had to a Fryar,

Fryar, his Friend, a Man of Learning and great cunning, named Father Edmund Bourgoing, Prior of the Convent, who told him; that God had indeed forbidden Murther, but as the King was cut off from the Church, and loaded with many horrible acts of Tyranny, he was of opinion, that whoever ſhould take him out of the World, would do an act no leſs agreeable to God, than the holy Judith in killing Holofornes: and if he loſt his life in ſo virtuous an undertaking, his Soul would be wafted directly to Heaven, and enjoy the Glory of the Bleſſed, and his memory be conſecrated by the Church militant, as a glorious Champion of the Chriſtian Religion. The ſuperſtitious Clement, being thus confirmed in his black reſolution by the advice of his good Superior, determined from that moment to take off Henry of Valois; he entered upon it by the practice of great Auſterities and Devotions, and the very morning he ſat out he celebrated the holy Maſs. Men of ſenſe ſaw plainly that this crafty Fryar Father Edmund, having diſcovered the good diſpoſition of a mind weak, and enflamed with a falſe zeal, had fobbed this pretended apparition of an Angel upon him *.

THESE were the cauſes that determined a cowardly ignorant Fryar to perform an action as intrepid and bold, as that of Mutius

* This whole Account is copied, word for word, from Mezeray, Hiſt. de France, 1589. See alſo Davila, & Maimbourg, ubi ſupra.

tius Scævola againſt Porſenna *: which is a manifeſt proof that the mind of Man is influenced by many different principles, which have a power of inclining him to Good or Ill, as well as Religion †. For it was Religion that hurried on Clement to commit a moſt deteſtable action, and Glory that animated Scævola to the performance of a very fine one. By this ſad example, then, let Princes learn to be leſs ſevere againſt thoſe, whom Prieſts and Zealots call Atheiſts or Deiſts: they having leſs to fear from them, than from Bigots or Fanatics. For, as they have no hopes, nor fears beyond the grave, they endeavour to enjoy life as much as they can, and conſequently have a meer delicate ſenſe of Honour, and are more apprehenſive of human Laws; ſeeing they cannot live happy in the way they propoſe, were they infamous, or by their Crimes made themſelves ſubject to any cruel or exemplary Puniſhment. But neither Infamy, nor the fear of human Juſtice can deter, or ſtop the raging madneſs of a Fanatic, the moment his Conſcience is to be ſet at reſt, an infinite reward to be gained, and eternal puniſhment to be avoided. Fanaticiſm is capable of hurrying on a man not only to kill his Sovereign, tho' never ſo juſt and good, but to maſſacre his father, wife, and children without the leaſt occaſion, tho' he loves them tenderly, and never received any thing but Bene-

* Liv. Dec. 1. lib. 2. cap. 12.

† Hereon conſult the learned Bayle's Penſees diverſees, ch. 179, 180, 181.

Benefits from them: as he imagines that by killing them he is doing his Duty, and performing an action agreeable to God; whereas, by ſuffering them to live, he thinks himſelf an accomplice in their pretended crimes, and conſequently damned to all eternity. In Religious Wars too many of theſe tragical and unnatural examples have been ſeen; but never will any be ſeen among Atheiſts. The Reader will pardon this ſhort digreſſion made in honour of Truth, and now I return to my Subject.

THE Death of Henry, however, is not to be imputed to the Fryar, tho' he killed him; nor to the Preachers of thoſe times, tho' by their ſeditious Sermons they incited him to that horrid undertaking, but wholly and ſolely to the Pope's Excommunication. For, had not Sixtus excommunicated the King, the Prieſts had not dared to broach ſo perfidious and execrable a Doctrine among the People*; ſo that Clement could not have imbibed it, nor have had any Apparitions, and conſequently the Prior of the Dominicans could not have given him ſuch bad advice, and therefore the killing of the King would never have come into his head. Let us then conclude, that the Excommunication was

* And the Sorbonne would not have dared to pronounce ſo unjuſt a Sentence againſt their lawful Sovereign, which made the Inhabitants of Paris revolt, and was the cauſe of infinite other Miſchiefs. Maimbourg, ubi ſupra.

was the cauſe of that Sacrilegious Murther, and paſſages of Scripture diabolically interpreted by our venerable and holy Doctors, are the ſource, pretext, and wicked foundation of Excommunication, and of all Church-Authority.



DIS-



DISCOURSE VIII.

By what means the Papal Monarchy has been, is, and will ever be ſupported ſo long, as it can make uſe of them.

THE Monarchy founded, and ſupported for ſuch a length of time by the Popes in the City of Rome, deſerves our attention and wonder, more than the ancient Grandeur of its prodigious Empire. For it is no great difficulty to comprehend, how a Nation, inured to War from its infancy as the Romans were, whoſe views were Glory and univerſal Empire, brought up in the ſevereſt military diſcipline, and governed by excellent Laws, ſhould have extended her Conqueſts ſo far, as at laſt to ſubdue ſeveral Nations, much inferior both in Virtue and Valour to herſelf. But it is impoſſible to have any

notion how the Church, without Arms, without Right, without Virtue, without Power, and eternally preaching up Poverty, Humility, and Forgiveneſs, ſhould attain to a deſpotic Power, not only within the walls of Rome itſelf, but over all the Kings and Princes of Chriſtendom too.

IN the ſixth Diſcourſe we ſaw how that was effected. In the ſeventh, we examined the Right, whereon the Church grounds her pretenſions, we ſhall in this ſhew the artifices ſhe employs to ſupport her Authority.

IN every Art or Science there are certain propoſitions, that ſerve as the baſis of all the reſt: in the ſame manner the Church has certain Affirmations, which are the baſis of her artifices, and which as inconteſtable Principles ſhe makes uſe of to bring ignorant Chriſtians to ſubmit to her good-will and pleaſure.

I. THAT ſhe is God's Church, out of which there is no Salvation.

II. THAT ſhe is infallible in all matters of Faith.

III. THAT the Pope, being Chriſt's grand Vicar, keeps the Keys of Heaven, and conſequently may introduce whom he pleaſes into that Spiritual Kingdom, by the means of Indulgences; and by that of Excommunication may exclude whom he pleaſes in like manner.

IV.

IV. THAT the Pope, being inveſted by Chriſt with the care of Souls, is conſequently abſolute Maſter of Mankind; and as the Soul is a Being infinitely more noble and perfect than the Body, for this reaſon the Pope's Power is ſuperior to that of all other Sovereigns.

V. AND as all things tend to the end for which they were made, ſo the Actions of Men ought to tend to eternal Salvation; this World being no more than a paſſage to that to come. For this reaſon the Pope, who has the Government of things Spiritual, may diſpoſe the affairs of this World as he pleaſes for the bleſſed felicity of the Soul.

VI. THEREFORE all thoſe who oppoſe the Sovereign Pontif, who is veſted with that ſupreme Power, are Rebels to God, and enemies to Mankind, and the Pope may, and conſequently ought to perſecute and deſtroy them by all methods, that the Church may proſper, and the way to Heaven lie open to the Faithful.

THESE are the ſacred Maxims, or principal Articles of the Roman Church's Faith, which it is not lawful to doubt, examine, or call in queſtion upon pain of eternal Dam-

nation. By the help of theſe Maxims, the Prieſts have raiſed a more powerful Monarchy, than any ever in being: a Monarchy, which having laid its foundations upon a ſolid ground, as is that of the Conſcience, may be ſure of the fidelity and obedience of Men: and a foundation, that not only holds all the Pope's ſubjects in union and ſubjection, but is ſtrong enough to bring thoſe of all other Monarchs under its dominion. For, as the Prieſts have gotten poſſeſſion of the hearts of the People, by perſuading them that they are obliged to them for the Salvation of their Souls, they very eaſily blow them up into a Rebellion againſt their lawful Prince, and by Excommunication leſſen, ſhake, and very much weaken a Prince's Power; and that without drawing a ſword: becauſe the Pope's Monarchy being a product of the human underſtanding, is ſupported more by Cunning than by Arms.

AFTER the Prieſts had by the means of this Doctrine prepared and diſpoſed the minds of Men to ſubmit to the ſupreme Authority of the Pope, they contrived methods to keep Bigots in the ſame ſentiments, and to force the Incredulous to ſubmit and humble themſelves to the Tenets of the Church. To this end they employed two ſo powerful means, that we may call them the Poles of the Papal Monarchy. And theſe are the ſwarm of Monks, and the Inquiſition. But before we lay open the other ar-

artifices of the Church, it is proper to ſhew the riſe of that holy Tribunal, having in my fifth Diſcourſe ſhewn the original of Monks.

THE Emperor Juſtinian, a covetous Prince, having a mind to lay hands upon the Wealth of his Subjects, and at the ſame time colour over the horrid Injuſtice he was about perpetrating by ſome ſpecious pretence, ſet up an Inquiſitor over the Empire, with Power to judge and condemn all Perſons accuſed of Sodomy, or of heterodox Opinions, without being obliged to produce the Witneſſes or Informer to the Criminal. So that they were condemned without being clearly convicted of their Crimes; a circumſtance that is ſtill the caſe of the innocent Victims of the holy Office. The Puniſhment inflicted was conſtantly confiſcation of their Goods, but very rarely Death *. For the Emperor had no deſign upon their Lives, but their goods; and herein the Inquiſition of the Prieſts, is more tyrannical, becauſe they are reſolved not only to have Men's goods, but their Lives too, that they may not diſcover their Villainies; like Thieves, who without mercy kill thoſe they rob, to prevent any diſcovery.

THIS was the riſe of the Inquiſition, which drew an univerſal hatred upon Juſtinian, who founded it: wherefore, after his Death, his Succeſſor aboliſhed it, and it was no more talked

* Procop. Hiſt. arcan. de morib. Juſtin. Imp.

talked of till the Reign of Frederic the ſecond, who notwithſtanding his perpetual Jangles with the Pope, had a mind the People ſhould think he was not God's enemy, by tolerating ſeveral Sects that ſprung up againſt the Authority of the Apoſtolic See, and took their riſe from the licentious and ſcandalous life of the Clergy. Thus he publiſhed an Edict againſt thoſe Heretics, and appointed Judges to proſecute them, called Inquiſitors. They had a power of burning all obſtinate Offenders alive, and of condemning the Penitent to perpetual Impriſonment. This was the ſecond time of ſetting up that Tribunal by the Emperors.

THE Church ſoon found ſhe could make a vaſt advantage of this Tribunal, if ſhe could get one at her own diſpoſal. Wherefore Innocent the third ſet one up, alledging it for a reaſon to the Council of Lateran that the Church would never be able to cleanſe herſelf from Hereſies, without the help of the ſecular arm. For this wholeſome advice the Pope was obliged to Dominic, a man of a cruel and ſanguinary temper, ſuch a one as was neceſſary for the execution of ſo barbarous and unjuſt an enterprize. For this reaſon he was nominated Inquiſitor, and that he might be aſſiſted by the Laity in the infamous diſcharge of his office, Innocent granted the ſame Indulgences and Privileges to ſuch as ſhould follow him, as the Preachers, he had appointed had granted to the Knights Templars in the

time

time of the holy Wars. Dominic beſides founded a numerous Society of Knights, ſtiled the Brethren of the ſoldiery of Jeſus Chriſt. A name they ill-deſerved to bear; for Chriſt neither in public nor private ever commanded Perſecution, but Mercy. Wherefore they ſhould rather have been called Brethren of the ſoldiery of Caligula, or rather as they were afterwards named by order of Gregory the ninth, Brethren of the ſoldiery of Dominic *, they having both been two horrible Monſters of Nature.

Dominic then was the great Patron and Promoter of the Eccleſiaſtical Inquiſition, and conſequently the Author of all the calamities, which that unjuſt and abominable Tribunal is perpetually making ſo many innocent People ſuffer. Thus, the Church by the means of the Inquiſition employs open Force, and by that of the Monks ſhe employs Fraud to ſupport her Power.

The Monks are the depoſitaries of the moſt important ſecrets of Eccleſiaſtic Policy; and the inſtruments of thoſe artifices ſhe makes uſe of, which are Confeſſion †, Purgatory,

* Benoit, Hiſt. des Albigeois. liv. 6. See likewiſe Father Paul, Diſcorſo dell' origine, forma, leggi, ed uſo dell' Uſizio dell' Inquiſizione.

† Auricular Confeſſion was inſtituted by Innocent the third. — Omnis utriuſq; ſexus fidelis, poſtquam ad annos diſcretionis pervenerit, omnia ſua ſolus peccata, ſaltem ſemel in anno fideliter confiteatur proprio Sacerdoti; at injunctam ſibi Pœnitentiam propriis viribus ſtudeat adimplere,

gatory *, Indulgences, and Maſſes. By thoſe arts they ſupport the Pope's Sovereignty. For by Confeſſion, and the means of conditional Abſolution they keep the Vulgar in ſubjection to the Pope, and diſpoſe them to a blind obedience to the Church, and in ſhort inſpire their Penitents with what notions they pleaſe: ſo that whenever they have a mind, they are able to make them take up arms, and raiſe a ſedition. Beſides, the Clergy, by the means of Confeſſion, are entirely informed not only of every thing that paſſes in Families,

implere, ſuſcipiens reverenter ad minus in Paſcha Euchariſtiæ Sacramentum: Niſi, &c. Innocent. 3. Decretal. lib. 5. tit. 38. cap. 12.

* The Doctrine of Purgatoy is founded upon thoſe fabulous Dialogues aſcribed to Pope Gregory 1. about 600 years after Chriſt's death. Theſe Dialogues turn upon the Miracles of the Saints, and are full of groſs fictions, whereby he would prove, that the Souls of the Dead return, and that therefore we ought to pray for them. But for all that, Purgatory was not generally admitted in the eleventh Century, as Otho of Friſinga tells us in his Chronicle, An. 1146. As to the Prayers for the Dead they were inſtituted in the following manner. In the year 996, at the ſame time that John 18. preſided at Rome in Gregory the 5th's ſtead, who had been depoſed, and was abſent; Odilo, Abbot of the Monaſtery of Clugny, inſtituted the Feaſt of All Souls the day after that of All Saints to be kept in his Monaſtery, which was after received and approved by the whole Church. Odilo's pretence for this inſtitution (that was and ſtill is ſo beneficial to the Church of Rome) was, that he had heard from a holy Hermit, that was come from Sicily, that great noiſes and terrible groans were heard from the opening of Mount Etna, which proceeded from the Souls of ſuch as were cruelly tormented in Purgatory, becauſe nobody prayed to deliver them out of it. See *Petrus Damianus, in vita Odilonis. Et Jacob. Laurent. Fabula Papiſtica infernalis tripartita, &c. Fabula prima de Purgatorio.*

lies, but likewiſe of the moſt important Affairs of the State. Becauſe there are very few Miniſters of Princes whoſe Minds are wholly diſengaged from Superſtition; ſo that moſt of them, before they execute their Maſter's orders, or come to any reſolution, conſult their Ghoſtly Fathers, the Directors of their Conſciences, who, if they ſee any thing going forward, that may be prejudicial to the Church, or her Favourites, never fail to advertiſe her of it, and that advertiſement is always of great uſe to the Court of Rome, and of great diſadvantage to Princes: for, being informed of their deſigns, ſhe may eaſily find means to obſtruct them.

By the fire of Purgatory the Monks ſtrike a great terror into Popiſh Women in general, and into the ſtupid multitude of Mankind too, which were they not immediately to eaſe them of, by teaching them the remedies proper for avoiding it, probably they might die raving mad. Theſe remedies are Maſſes and Indulgences. The one proper for preſerving the Souls of the living from thoſe flames, and for delivering thoſe of the dead that are broiling becauſe they were not able to purchaſe a Stock of that Antidote, whilſt they were in the Body: and the other are moſt excellent Preſervatives, not only againſt the fire that purifies the Soul from venial Sins, but alſo againſt the everlaſting Fire of Hell, which is the puniſhment of mortal Sins. Theſe ſame Indulgences are of ſo ſpecific a nature, that a ſingle plenary one & *in Articulo Mortis*, has the

the power of wafting the Soul of the moſt abandoned Raſcal into the Kingdom of Heaven in a moment, ſo that it ſhall not be ſo much as ſcorched or ſmoked by the flames or ſmoke of Purgatory. In days of yore theſe Indulgences were ſold extremely dear by the Pope, but they loſt more than they got by it. For this holy traffic was the cauſe of Luther's revolt, or at leaſt his pretence for ſhaking off the Pope's Yoke, and laying aſide a Caſſock, that was grown inſupportable to him *. The Church then learnt, by her ill ſucceſs in this trading in Spiritual things, to become more charitable. For ſhe has ever ſince kept her Spiritual Treaſures open for the ſervice of the Souls of the faithful, and granted her Indulgences *gratis & amore*.

No wonder then if Chriſtians, every day receiving ſuch great benefits from the Church, ſhould be ſo grateful and generous towards their ſupreme Benefactreſs, as to divide their Eſtates with the Clergy, and very often rob their own Children, Parents, and Friends of it, to beſtow it upon Monks, or Prieſts. If this be not juſt, at leaſt we muſt own it is reciprocal. For on one ſide Chriſtians, by enjoying thoſe Spiritual Treaſures, obtain everlaſting Happineſs for their Souls; and on the other, the Clergy by the riches of the Faithful enjoy the ſweet Pleaſures of this Life; in a word, it is only a mutual exchange of Spiritual

* Sleidan. de Statu Relig. & Reipub. lib. 1. an. 1517. Guicciardini, Hiſt. d'Italia, lib. 13. an. 1520. Fra Paolo, Hiſt. del Concilio Tridentino. lib. 1. an. 1517.

ritual and Temporal good things between the Laity and Clergy. But in time one inconvenience will be found, which is, that the Faithful will be no longer able to ſhew their gratitude to the Church. For temporal Treaſures are of a different quality to Spiritual, the one being limited and finite, the other unlimited and infinite. Wherefore Chriſtians, by enriching the Clergy, muſt one time or other expect to ſee an end of their riches. And then will they be in the deplorable condition of perpetually receiving Benefits from the Clergy, without being able to return them. But this will never be their caſe: for probably benefits will then ceaſe on both ſides. Becauſe as Maſſes and Indulgences are inſtead of Penance, Chriſtians, now grown poor, will do ſuch great Penance in this World, that they will ſtand in need of neither Maſs, nor Indulgence, to avoid the pains of the other. Then will the Clergy have reaſon to boaſt that they have really procured the Faithful eternal Salvation, for experience ſhews us, that the poor are better Chriſtians than the rich, and by conſequence more eaſily ſaved.

By Miracles, the Clergy draw gold and ſilver Offerings to their Temples, and maintain themſelves in veneration among Chriſtians; for they cannot worſhip this Virgin, or that Saint that works Miracles, without at the ſame time having a high opinion of ſuch as have the happineſs to be their immediate Servants, and that high opinion is the ſource of their Obedience and Reſpect.

By-

BESIDES theſe Artifices which are the moſt powerful, the Clergy have ſeveral other very good ones. One of the moſt beneficial is their having gotten the Education of Youth into their hands, by the means of their public Schools. In theſe Colleges, or Seminaries, the Jeſuites, or other Monks, not only teach the Sciences, to ſuch young People as ſtudy under them, but ſeveral other Maxims too, that have very often produced moſt pernicious effects, and which I ſhall have occaſion of ſpeaking to in my next Diſcourſe. Farther, if they perceive a Lad has a Genius for ſtudy, or is of an illuſtrious or powerful Family, or a rich Heir, they practiſe all methods to get him into their Society, or Convent. Becauſe by his Learning he is capable of doing honour to their Religion, by his Family he will augment the number of their Patrons and Friends, and by his Wealth he will improve and advance their condition.

THE Clergy have many other ſtratagems to gain the love of the Mob: ſuch as Reliques, Agnus Dei's, Chaplets, Scapularies, and Medals *. By the two former they get the Affection of Women, who naturally love their Children: Reliques, and Agnus Dei's having a ſovereign virtue to preſerve Children againſt all Enchantment: and by the three latter, they make themſelves neceſſary to both Sexes, as ſpiritual Phyſicians; for being all

* See Bernard, Hiſt. des Ceremonies, & des Superſtions, an. 1230, &c.

all of them loaded with Indulgences, they are ſpecific remedies for the Soul *.

To all theſe Artifices muſt be added the Knowledge the Vulgar have of the Vows of Chaſtity and Poverty of the Monks, and the great Hypocriſy affected by them in order to make them believe that they keep them. So that Men, and much more Women being affected with a holy, but fooliſh, and ill-judged Compaſſion, are continually beſtowing Alms upon them, which, by the way, they never refuſe, notwithſtanding it is ſo exorbitant, as often to ſtraighten whole Families; and the greateſt jeſt is, that they pretend they do not break their Vows of Poverty, by not receiving it themſelves, but making one of their Devotees, who is entirely at their Devotion, receive it. Thus, they, who ought always to live by begging, according to the original Rules of their Inſtitution, † generally grow richer than the reſt of them.

The Country, of all the World the moſt ſubject to Jealouſy, gives us a ſtrong proof of the Veneration of the groſs of Mankind for thoſe Hypocrites. For, a Sicilian, for inſtance, extreme jealous, who would think himſelf

* Victor the ſecond in the year 1055. allowed every Sinner to exempt himſelf from the ſentence of the Church, by paying a ſum of Money. Petri Damian. Epiſt. ad Deſider. Caſ.

† Vid. Collectanea ex hiſtoriis de Origine ac fundatione omnium fere monaſticorum ordinum in ſpecie, &c. per Joan. Creccelium, Monachum Auguſtinianum. Edit. Francof. an. 1614.

himſelf ruined and undone, were he to find a Layman, tho' of an hundred Years old, with his Wife, Siſter, or Daughter, would not be the leaſt offended at knowing they were alone with a young briſk Monk, or Prieſt; no, on the contrary, he would be pleaſed, and take all imaginable care not to break in upon, and diſturb them. Hence we may eaſily judge not only how much theſe Impoſtors are reſpected, but what eaſe they find in impoſing upon thoſe poor Wretches. For, they truſt them with what they hold moſt dear and valuable, their Wives, and their Honour, for the Preſervation of which laſt, they are under perpetual alarms, and expoſe themſelves to the greateſt Dangers, whilſt at the ſame time they are loſing it in the fooliſheſt manner, and that without perceiving it. But I miſtake in ſaying they loſe their Honour; for theſe good Servants of God ſanctify and honour whatever they touch, and every place thro' which they paſs. So that we may well apply to Chriſtians what two ingenious Men † have applied to the Heathens; for they are in the ſame manner cheated by the Clergy, as others were by the Augurs and Prieſts of their own time.

ANOTHER Trick contrived by the Monks to attract the People's Devotion to them, and no leſs beneficial than thoſe I have already mentioned, is in regard to thoſe Lay-fraternities, or Companies, ſuch as that of the Roſary,

† Trajano Boccalini, Oſſervazioni ſopra Tacito, lib. 2. Bayle, Penſees diverſes, ch. 109.

ſary, of Mount Carmel, of St. Auſtin's, and St. Francis's Girdle, and ſeveral other; which are ſo numerous, that almoſt all the Inhabitants of a Town are enrolled under the Banners of ſome one of them, and, collected into one body may be very juſtly called a Confederacy, or League, enter'd into between the Laity and Clergy, to be made uſe of by the latter on occaſion.

For inſtance, it is moſt certain, that ſhould any Prince have a mind to drive the Dominicans out of his Territories, he would draw upon himſelf the hatred of the whole Fraternity of the Roſary; nay, I do not know whether it could be done without raiſing a Tumult: but ſhould the ſame Prince, upon a wiſe and good motive, attempt to drive all the Monks out of his Dominions, as a ſwarm of idle drones likely to deſtroy the Country, and be of no manner of uſe to him, moſt aſſuredly three fourths of his Subjects would riſe in rebellion to defend them (I ſay three fourths, conſidering the Monks, who would be the foremoſt to rebel, make a great part of the People.) For they love them, not only as joined in Confederacy with them, as I have already obſerved; but reſpect and obey them as holy men, and their ghoſtly Fathers. For theſe reaſons therefore, and becauſe in this juncture they would infallibly be puſhed on and ſeduced by the Monks, a revolt would be inevitable and general.

These

THESE are the tricks of the Secular and Regular Clergy to keep the Vulgar in ſubjection and obedience. And as to the methods practiſed by the Church to hold the Clergy faſt in her intereſts, they are many. The firſt and ſtrongeſt is the prohibiting them Marriage *. For their love to their Children, muſt have greatly weakened, if not quite ſtifled their Affection to the Church; and conſequently they would have applied themſelves to the raiſing of Fortunes for their Families, and not for their Convents. So that their riches being divided into many channels, the Church would have always remained poor, and without riches would never have grown powerful. But the Pope having inſtituted Celibacy, the Monks and Clergy intereſt themſelves for their Convents, as we conſtantly ſee; the Policy of Convents inſpiring their young Novices with an averſion and horror of the World, and their own Relations, and obliging them always to employ their intereſt in favour of the Church, by ſhewing them, that they are in conſcience bound ſo to do, and that their own intereſt is concerned; for the richer the Convent is, the more commodious is their life.

I

* Gregory the ſeventh was the Pope that ordained that none ſhould be admitted into Orders, without firſt entering into Vows of Chaſtity; and obliged all married Prieſts to part from their Wives. The Clergy of France and Spain oppoſed that Decree. See Lambert. Schafnab. de rebus Germanicis, an. 1074.

I know very well that both Monks and Prieſts, notwithſtanding the inſtitution of Celibacy, have Children by their Devotees; but as they hardly ever are able to diſtinguiſh them, they being uncertain whether they belong to themſelves, or the huſbands of thoſe poor bigotted creatures, neither can they love them. Beſides the conduct of the Clergy with Women, is quite different from that of other Men. The latter being forc'd to purchaſe their favour with much trouble, and good round Sums of Money; whereas Monks with great eaſe obtain not only the laſt favours from Women, but have preſents made them too, where they are young. And where they are old, not having thoſe gifts that are requiſite to expect Rewards, neither do they aſk them for themſelves, but for the Convent, or the Virgin Mary, or the Saint for whom their Penitent has the greateſt Veneration. Thus they endeavour to bring them to make ſome pious Donation, and generally apply themſelves to elderly Women, as being more devout than young ones, and being nearer their end, more afraid of the flames of Purgatory. The Monks act thus, from a natural fondneſs for that Monaſtry where they have lived from their youth to their old age, as well as from a principle of duty. In order to know whether what I have ſaid be well grounded, it will be ſufficient to enquire into the origin of the Goods and Wealth of Monaſteries, and we ſhall plainly ſee they are all donations extorted from ſilly Chriſtians

by the Artifices of Monks, and Prieſts. This is a truth daily confirmed to us by experience, and well known by the Republic of Venice; ſhe being forced to put a ſtop to this ill grounded piety of the Faithful, that ſhe might not ſee her whole Territories fall under the power of the Church.

THE Proteſtant Divines therefore loſe their time and pains, when they beat their brains to prove to their Adverſaries, that Chriſt never prohibited Marriage, but on the contrary, the Apoſtles, primitive Chriſtians, Biſhops, and Prieſts, for ſeveral Centuries were all married: and that by enjoining Celibacy, a door has been opened to Sodomy, Inceſt, Pollutions, and a multitude of innocent Creatures deſtroyed before they were born. It is true, all thoſe Diſorders are the fruits of Celibacy *, for nature muſt be eaſed ſome way or other: and it is as true that they frequently happen in Cloiſters; but, notwithſtanding that, the Pope cannot put a ſtop to them, by annulling the Decree for Celibacy, which would be the only remedy; upon pain of

* Vide Avent. annal. Bojor. lib. 5. p. 564, &c.—— Gregory I. inſtituted Celibacy, but ſoon after repented him of it, and aboliſhed it. His reaſons for repenting were theſe. Having ſent for a certain Fiſh out of a Pond, or Reſervoir, the Fiſhermen, inſtead of the Fiſh, brought him about ſix thouſand heads of Children, whom the Clergy had cauſed to be deſtroyed ſince the Promulgation of his Decree againſt Marriage, either that they might not incur the Pope's Diſpleaſure, or to let him ſee the benefit he was to expect from his unjuſt Decree. See Huldric. Epiſcop. Auguſt. ad Nicolaum prim. Pontif.

of overturning the Papal Monarchy in leſs than half a Century *. Thus this cannot be done with a ſafe conſcience, whatever our zealous Proteſtant Divines may think of it.

THE ſecond method of the Church to have the Monks at their Devotion, is by keeping up a good Diſcipline within their reſpective Monaſteries; which is as ſevere, nay more ſtrict than the military. For if in the military the Soldier obey their Corporal without heſitation, the Corporal the Serjeant, the Serjeant the Enſign, the Enſign the Lieutenant, the Lieutenant the Captain; and ſo on by degrees to the General, and he obeys the King; in the ſame manner the Monks obey the Warden, the Warden obeys the Prior, the Prior the Provincial, the Provincial the General of his Order, and he the Church or the Pope. And if Officers and Soldiers take and Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity to their Sovereign, and are kept in fear by Puniſhment, ſo Monks make Vows of Obedience to their Superiors, and theſe ſwear to be wholly ſubject to the Pope; and if they diſobey, they are puniſhed much more rigorouſly than Officers or Soldiers. Now, if a King, by iſſuing an order to his General, can put a whole Army into motion, ſo the Pope, by ſending his commands to the Generals of the reſpective orders, who always reſide near his per-

* See Father Paul's Hiſt. of the Council of Trent, lib. 7. an. 1563. lib. 8. the ſame year.

ſon *, can in an inſtant put all the Monks and their Dependants into motion too; a thing that deſerves to be conſidered, but that belongs to Roman Catholic Princes, and not to me.

THE third and laſt method employed by the Pope to ſecure the Affection of the Clergy, and great part of the Nobility and People of a Country, is his abſolute and free diſpoſal of Cardinalates, Biſhopricks, Abbeys, and a prodigious number of fat Benefices, by which the Pope can oblige Men of all ranks and conditions, that aſpire to poſts of honour and profit in the Church, to ſubmit, and obey him, he having the power of conferring them on whom he thinks fit, and depriving thoſe of them, whom he finds not to be in his intereſt.

BY theſe methods the Church maintains her ſupreme power under the Government of the Pope. Powerful methods! that will defend her as long as ſhe is able to make uſe of them, againſt the furious aſſaults of her moſt implacable Enemies; ſo that the holy Roman Church may, in defiance of the Reverend Miniſters of the Goſpel, and their orthodox Doctrine, boaſt, that "the Gates "of Hell ſhall never prevail againſt her †.

* All the Generals of monaſtic Orders, and that of the Jeſuits too, reſide at Rome, except the General of the Carthuſians, who lives in their great Monaſtry at Grenoble.

† Matth. ch. 16. v. 18.

DIS-



DISCOURSE IX.

Of the Evils brought upon Princes and their Subjects by the Clergy.

IN the foregoing diſcourſe we have laid open the Frauds and Artifices of the Church, in the preſent we ſhall endeavour to make Princes ſenſible of the Evils brought upon them by her, that having them before their eyes, they may apply ſuch remedies as they ſhall think neceſſary.

THE greateſt inconvenience that can befal any government, either abſolute or republican, is, for the Prince or Magiſtrates not to have a ſufficient power to make ſuch Laws or Regulations as they think neceſſary for the good of the ſtate, by being hindred by a Power ſuperior to theirs, which watching every opportunity of aggrandizing itſelf, will ſuffer

ſuffer no addition to the grandeur of its neighbours, in order to hold them in a perpetual dependence upon itſelf. Such is the miſerable condition of the two Republics of Genoa, and Lucca, of the Dukes of Tuſcany, Parma, and Modena, who dare not venture upon any thing of advantage to themſelves, for fear of diſobliging the Emperor. Such is the condition of all Roman Catholic Princes, whoſe authority is confined by that of the Church; ſhe being not only independent of the Laws of any State, but ſuperior to them, and to the Sovereign himſelf too *. For the Pope looks upon it as his right to depoſe the greateſt Monarchs, and abſolve their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, as in reality he has often done, both the one and the other. This is a privilege authoriſed by the Laws of the Popes †, and the Doctrine of Divines ‖.

WHENEVER then there is an authority in any Kingdom, ſuperior to that of the Prince, he is no longer an abſolute Maſter, but a Subject. Now how can he exerciſe his juſtice, if he has not a power of puniſhing the crimes of a great part of his ſubjects, who being Eccleſiaſtics, are not under his juriſdiction?

* Imperatores, & Principes, debent Pontificibus ſubeſſe, non præeſſe. Decret. Grat. 1. pars. diſtinct. 96. cap. 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14.

† Decret. Grat. 2. pars. cauſ. 15. quæſt. 6. cap. 4, 5. Vid. etiam Decret. Bonifac. 8. extravag. commun. lib. 1. De majoritate & obedientia, cap. 1.

‖ Vide Tolet. Inſtruct. ſacerd. lib. 1. cap. 13. & Bellarmin. de Romano Pontifice.

diction? For, Nicholas the firſt made a Decree, importing that all Prieſts ſhould be judged and condemned by their Biſhops only, and not by ſecular Judges *. And Innocent the third expreſly forbad the Laity to do the leaſt violence to the Clergy upon pain of Excommunication †. In ſhort, the Church has given Princes to underſtand, that they were to reſpect the Clergy, as their Parents and Maſters ‖.

ACCORDING to theſe conſtitutions it is evident, that the Pope is Sovereign over all the Clergy. Now, if the Clergy make the half or third part of the People in any State, by conſequence one half or one third part of the Sovereignty is the Pope's, and thus the authority will be divided between the Pope, and the Prince there, one having a right to command the Clergy, and the other the Secular or lay part, and thereby the Government of one will be turned into that of two. But the Church is not ſatisfied with an uncontroulable power over the Clergy, but is reſolved to exerciſe it over the Laity too, by means of the Inquiſition. And as the Prince's Authority does not extend over the Laity, neither we muſt infer that it is not a Government of Two, but of One, who is the Pope, conſidering he is abſolute Lord both of Clergy and Laity, and real Monarch, the Sovereign himſelf

* Decret. Grat. 1. pars. diſtinct. 28. cap. 17. Vide etiam Platina, in Nicolao. 1.

† Decret. Grat. 2. pars. cauſ. 17. quæſt. 4. ch. 29.

‖ Decret. Grat. 1. pars. diſtinct. 96. cap. 9.

himſelf being ſubject to his Laws as already obſerved.

Nor do the perſons alone of the Clergy enjoy the Immunities of the Church, but their effects too; and as the Prince has no Juriſdiction over the Clergy, neither can he ſubject their Goods or Eſtates to the general Taxes of the Kingdom; which deſerves to be maturely conſidered. To ſet this fact therefore in its full light, let us lay down two Principles, and then ſee what are the conſequences.

The firſt is, the power granted the Clergy of acquiring Lands, and Goods of whatſoever nature they be, either by Purchaſes, or Gifts, which latter is the moſt frequent, and are made by their Devotees, as well as all other who are afraid of the flames of Purgatory. The ſecond is, that from the moment thoſe effects fall into the Clergy's hands, they become free, and never go out of them, unleſs by an exchange for better. After which, let us ſuppoſe ſome Prince, whoſe Revenue, by the Duties or Taxes he ſhall lay on the Lands of his Subjects, amounts yearly to the ſum of ſix millions of Crowns; and let us likewiſe ſuppoſe this Prince to be an Athieſt, and that by Divine Inſpiration, or upon a fit of Enthuſiaſm, he ſhould have a mind to make himſelf and all his Subjects Papiſts. He muſt immediately ſet up Biſhops in his Cities, and Curates in Pariſhes, and Country Towns, on whom he muſt

muſt neceſſarily beſtow a Revenue proportionable to the dignity of their Office.

THE Lands appointed for that Revenue, which were before ſubject to taxes, would now become free, as belonging to the Clergy. Wherefore, the Prince's ſix millions muſt diminiſh, and ſink to five and an half, more or leſs, according to the number of the Clergy, and the States they poſſeſs. And if the Prince would not, or could not ſuffer ſuch Diminution, he muſt be forced to raiſe the Land-tax upon his Lay-ſubjects. In ſuch caſe his People would begin to feel the ill effects of thoſe Evils which the Clergy had brought upon them. But that would be a trifle. Let us go on, and ſuppoſe that this Prince was willing to allow the Auguſtins, the Franciſcans, the Benedictins, the Dominicans, the Jeſuits, and the whole rabble of Friars to come and ſettle in his Dominions. To be ſure he muſt furniſh them with neceſſaries of life. For whereever Monks ſettle, they never bring any thing with them, or have any other riches than that of an extreme Hypocriſy, by which they never fail growing rich at the expence of the ſenſeleſs and ſtupid Vulgar.

THIS inſatiable Rabble being once introduced, the fear of Purgatory infuſed into the People's head, and at the ſame time the means of eſcaping it by Maſſes and Indulgences, and all thoſe Artifices of Monkery put in practiſe: Theſe new Chriſtians, out of their

their Zeal for Religion, and deſire of ſaving their Souls, would be perpetually making Donations, and enriching them, juſt as Conſtantin, his Succeſſors, and the Heathen Romans formerly did, as appears in my fifth Diſcourſe. So that this Prince, who has already diveſted himſelf of the twelfth part of his Revenue, by ſetting up Biſhops, and Curates, would by the Introduction of the Monks, and by the poſſeſſions and other effects obtained by them from the Simplicity of the Faithful, now become free by falling into their hands; I ſay this Prince would loſe almoſt half his Revenue, and the three remaining Millions not being ſufficient, he would be obliged to raiſe freſh Taxes to make up the three Millions ſunk upon him by the Clergy, ſo that thus his Subjects would be ſtill drained and oppreſſed more and more every day.

Now let us ſuppoſe this to continue, as it certainly would, as long as there were Monks, and a Papiſt Clergy in the State, becauſe they would be perpetually practiſing their Rogueries in order to catch the Goods of the ſimple and unwary, and would always find Fools and Bigots to fall into their ſnares; let us ſuppoſe this to continue, I ſay, and we ſhall find, that ſo long as the Clergy are allowed to go on perpetually acquiring Goods and Eſtates, and diveſting the Laity of them, ſuch acquiſitions being to be for ever free and unalienable; the Laity will in time be without any thing, and the Prince muſt loſe his Re-

Revenues and Dominions irrecoverably, all the lands of the Clergy being incapable of returning into the hands of the Laity. Behold to what miſchiefs thoſe Princes and Commonwealths are liable, who allow their Subjects to ſell or give their Eſtates to the Clergy, or ſuffer the immunities of the Church to take place in their dominions *.

The Immunities or Privileges of the Clergy are the ſource of another Evil, and that no leſs grievous than what I have juſt been ſpeaking of. For though it be not the immediate cauſe of the ruin of Princes and States, as the other is; yet is it the occaſion of the moſt horrid diſorders: I mean the Aſylum that Malefactors find in thoſe Churches, and territories of the Pope, which are within the dominions of Princes. Robbers, Aſſaſſins, and the moſt flagrant Villains, are exempted from the puniſhment due to their Crimes, the moment they take refuge in the Churches or territories belonging to the Pope. An Aſylum of this nature, is againſt all equity, and diſturbs the public quiet. For, to what end is a Prince juſt, if he cannot ſhew it by puniſhing the guilty? Where is the man who can be morally ſure not to be killed, or cauſed to be killed by his enemy, whilſt the wicked know they may commit the moſt deteſtable crimes with impunity? Let us only conſider the Murthers,

* Here on conſult Father Paul's Conſiderazioni ſopra le Cenſure di Papa Paolo 5. contra la Repub. di Venezia.

thers, Robberies, and Outrages committed at Naples, Madrid, and Lisbon, and we ſhall find there are more of them committed in a week in one of thoſe Cities, than in the Kingdom of England in a whole year. Whence then proceeds thoſe great diſorders that continually diſturb the quiet of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and whence the good order obſerved throughout the Engliſh dominions, but from the pernicious laws eſtabliſhed in thoſe Countries, and the excellency of the Britiſh laws?

So, that the Good Men enjoy, or the Evil they labour under, is not to be attributed to the climate of the Country, or their own conſtitutions, as is done by many, by not tracing the nature of things to their ſource. For Experience has in all ages ſhewn us, that Mankind are good, or bad, according as their Laws are good or bad: and we know that thoſe very Nations, that were formerly the patterns of Virtue, are now become that of Vice, by not obſerving thoſe excellent Laws that made them virtuous. Witneſs the Lacedemonians and Athenians, who were living examples of Virtue, Valour, and Wiſdom to all their Neighbours, ſo long as they followed the excellent laws of Lycurgus, Theſeus, and Solon *. Witneſs the Romans, who had the Glory of ſubduing almoſt all the People of the Earth, by obſerving thoſe laws, which Brutus, Valerius, Herminius, Larcius, and Coriolanus, the Fathers of the Roman Liberty eſtabliſhed after ſhaking off

* Plut. in Lycurgo, & Solone.

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the yoke of the Tyrants of Rome *: and laſtly, witneſs the primitive Chriſtians, who were the beſt of Men, ſo long as they obeyed the moſt righteous laws of Chriſt. But we no longer find neither amongſt the Greeks, Romans, nor Chriſtians of theſe days, either the ſame Virtue or Valour, or Wiſdom, or Humanity, that their Anceſtors were diſtinguiſhed by, and that, becauſe they are ſo unhappy as to be governed by very wicked Laws.

If then the Engliſh are good and virtuous, we are not to aſcribe this Goodneſs, or Virtue of theirs to their Conſtitution, but to the wholeſome Laws of England, as I have already hinted. For all the World knows that the Engliſh, far from being naturally an indolent, phlegmatic, enduring People, are very ſenſible of Injuries and Affronts, and very quick in revenging them. But if their Revenge be neither cruel, cowardly, nor ill-natured, as is that of the People I have mentioned, it is becauſe they know how to come at a ſpeedy ſatisfaction by the Laws of their Country, which gives no quarter to the Offender; they know too, that if they attempt to revenge themſelves by the death of their enemy, they are puniſhed with Death not to be avoided. For there is no Church, no Protection, no ſum of Money whatſoever that is able to ſcreen an

* Here on ſee Algernon Sidney's Diſcourſe concerning Government, chap. 2. ſect. 12, 15.

an Aſſaſſin in England. But in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, a Villain ſhall on the leaſt temptation commit Murther without bogling, becauſe he is ſure to avoid the juſt puniſhment of his Villany, by taking refuge in ſome Church, or in the houſe of ſome great Lord that protects him, or elſe to get his pardon from his very Judges by a ſum of money: nay, ſome of thoſe wretches often purchaſe a Pardon before they ſet about the Murther. And this was a circumſtance very frequent in the Kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, and in the Dutchy of Milan in the time of the Spaniſh Viceroys and Governors.

BESIDES, there are principles of Virtue or Vice, wherein Men are educated, that make them either virtuous or vicious. And that is the reaſon why we ſee the Engliſh, into whom an averſion and horror for Murther, and a love of equity are infuſed from their very infancy, rarely kill their enemies: and their equity evidently appears every day in their private duels. For, if a man, tho' in the company of his brothers or friends, ſhould have a quarrel with another who is alone, all but the combatants are ſpectators and Judges only of the duel, and will never fall upon his adverſary, from their averſion to cowardiſe and injuſtice. Whereas the other Nations, would look upon themſelves as diſhonoured, did they not take the part of their friend, or brother, by attacking his enemy. In other Countries the People aſſiſt a Rob-

a Robber or Aſſaſſin in his eſcape, but in England every body is againſt him. Among the Engliſh, the publick hatred and infamy falls ſingly upon the Criminal, whereas in other Countries it extends to all the relations and friends, which is very unjuſt. For, if a Villain be guilty of Robbery or Murther, what right or reaſon is there for the friends and relations of the deceaſed to perſecute thoſe of the Murtherer, if they be innocent? and if the Aſſaſſin be hanged, or broke alive upon the wheel, why muſt the infamy of his crime and puniſhment reflect upon his relations and friends, tho' worthy honeſt People? Is not this a moſt horrid Injuſtice? and yet this is what happens all over the World, except in the Engliſh Dominions.

It is an honour and reputation to the Engliſh to defend the Liberties and Privileges of the People, becauſe they live under a juſt and free Government framed by the common conſent of the People. But it is infamous and criminal to attempt it in Countries groaning under abſolute tyrannical Power; Tyranny being unable long to ſubſiſt, where Tyrants allow the People a liberty to examine into their right, and to come to themſelves. Thus thoſe poor creatures, being accuſtomed to Slavery, far from entering into ſo juſt and neceſſary an Enquiry, patiently bear their miſery, becauſe they have no notion of the right of Mankind; and as Liberty inſpires Men with Bravery, Knowledge, and Juſtice, Tyranny on the other hand ſinks them into Ignorance, Cowardiſe, and Villany: and

and as ſuch, they kick againſt thoſe who would retrieve them out of their wretched condition. So that it is a Truth that ought to be believed, as inconteſtable, that were the excellent Laws and Conſtitutions of England to be carried into Italy, Spain, or Portugal, and the bad ones of thoſe Countries into Great Britain; we ſhould, in leſs than half a Century, find the Engliſh grow cowardly, treacherous, Aſſaſſins, ignorant, ſuperſtitious, and cruel, as the Italians, Spaniards, and Portugueſe are at preſent; and theſe grow brave, generous, haters of Murther, Injuſtice and Superſtition, like thoſe happy People that live under the wiſeſt and mildeſt Government in the World.

ANOTHER great Evil that the Church cauſes to a State is by the inſtitution of Nuns and Fryars. For, in the firſt place, every Kingdom muſt be thinned of its People by ſhutting up moſt of its Women in Monaſteries, where they lead an unactive unprofitable, and barren life, hurtful to themſelves, but ſtill more ſo to the Society. For, it is very plain, that the Power of any State conſiſts in its People. It muſt be owned indeed that every now and then they have Children; but thoſe Children never can be of any uſe to the Community, they being ſtifled at their Birth to ſave the Honour of Families and Monaſteries. In the ſecond place the vaſt number of ſuch as become Fryars, or Prieſts, and thereby make themſelves uſeleſs and burthenſome to Society,

ciety, might be of great uſe to the Prince and State, if being Laymen they took to Arms, or to the Law, and applied themſelves to the ſtudy of the rights and duties of Sovereigns and Subjects.

AND farther, the Clergy can hardly have any affection for their Princes; intereſt being the ſource of affection. For, they could hope for very little from a wiſe Prince, I mean a Prince who underſtood the ſolid intereſt of himſelf and his People. But they have reaſon to have hopes from the Church, and the Pope, who is their Lord and Maſter, and who can do them a thouſand kindneſſes and in a thouſand different ways. So that the Clergy ought to love the Pope as their ſole Benefactor and Protector, and not their Prince, who without ruining his Subjects, muſt always oppoſe their uſurpations. The reſult of which is, that whenever any Prince is at War with another that is favoured by the Court of Rome, all the Clergy oppoſe the rights of that Prince, and pray for his deſtruction, from their love to the Pope, and the hopes of bettering their condition, ſhould their favourite Prince ſubdue the other, and get his Dominions into his hands. This was the motive of the Clergy of France for rebelling againſt their lawful Sovereigns in favour of the houſe of Lorrain *, which under the ſpecious pretence of Religion, aimed at uſurping the Crown of France.

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* Vide Cayet, Mezeray, Davila, Thuanus, & Maimbourg, Hiſt. de la Ligue.

BESIDES, the Clergy do not think they are doing the leaſt harm, whilſt they are blowing up ſeditions, and rebelling againſt their Sovereigns. No; they think they are doing their duty, as the Oath of Fidelity they have taken is not to their Prince, but to the Church. So that when a King has any ſquabble with the Pope, the Clergy declare themſelves his Enemies juſt as the breach grows wider; and whenever that Prince is excommunicated, then their Rebellion breaks out openly, and they are the firſt to rebel, and put his Subjects upon doing the ſame by their ſeditions, diſcourſes and ſermons, if they find they can do it without danger to themſelves, as they did in France againſt Henry the third, and fourth; they being protected and ſupported by the League. But if a King or Republic happen to be excommunicated, and there be no Party formed againſt that Prince, or State, then the Clergy do not dare preach againſt them publickly, but endeavour to diſpoſe and ſtagger the minds of the weaker ſort in Confeſſion by their ſhuffling and ambiguous diſcourſe, whereby they inſinuate with great craft and ſubtilty, that their Prince is in the wrong, and that being excommunicated, he is no longer their Sovereign. On the other hand, with ſuch as are the moſt underſtanding and leaſt credulous, the Clergy endeavour to ſound their intentions, and if they find them faſt to their Prince, they employ the moſt cunning artifices to draw them over to their ſide.

ſide. In that view, they at firſt pretend the Church is in the wrong, and their Prince in the right, in order to get into their confidence, and when they have ſo done, they by degrees ſet things before them under falſe lights, and infuſe into them a ſort of compaſſion for the poor diſtreſſed Church of God, that has been always under Perſecution, and a horror for its Perſecutor, who to be ſure is always their Prince, that is at variance with the Pope. Thus, if they find the Subjects ripe for a Revolt, in order to bring them entirely over to the Church's ſide, they lay before them the ſpiritual and temporal rewards they ſhall obtain of God in the other World, and of the Pope in this, if they aid and aſſiſt the Church. Wherefore their Prince will at ſuch a juncture find himſelf in great danger of ſeeing his Subjects revolt; and the greater number of Eccleſiaſtics there are in his Dominions, the greater will the danger always be.

The Republic of Venice experienced this Truth. For, as ſoon as ſhe was excommunicated by Pope Paul V, ſhe baniſhed all the Monks and Prieſts ſhe ſuſpected, and firſt the Jeſuits. For, as theſe were learned, politic, and moſt affectionate to the Church by reaſon of the great benefits they receive from it, more than any other Order, they would have been able to ſeduce, not only all the Clergy, but likewiſe to have made the greateſt part of the People riſe againſt her, as in fact they endeavoured to do, when

they had received Orders to retire out of the Dominions of the Republic. For, they ſummoned all of both ſexes, that were bigotted to them, to their Church, to whom they gave their laſt inſtructions, and from whom they received large ſums of Money. After which they agreed with the Capuchins, and other Fryars to depart Venice in proceſſion carrying before them a vaſt Crucifix, in order to inſpire the People with a holy compaſſion, and raiſe a general Revolt, or at leaſt a great Tumult.

BESIDES this, the Jeſuits and other Monks that had been baniſhed the Venetian Territories, ſowed a thouſand of the blackeſt Calumnies againſt the Republic, thro' all the Cities of Italy where they were diſperſed; they were continually writing ſeditious letters to their Partiſans at Venice, in which they beſtowed upon the Republic the honourable appellations, of Lutheran, heretical, abominable and tyrannical Government. The Jeſuits ventured in diſguiſe into the territories of the Republic, by their ſeditious intrigues to ſtir up their Subjects to a Revolt; but the Senate made all their attempts vain and abortive, by the precautions they had taken before they baniſhed them *.

HAVING by ſo glaring and illuſtrious an inſtance proved what I have here advanced,

* Fra. Paolo, Hiſt. particol. delle coſe paſſate tra 'l ſommo Pontefice Paolo 5, e la Sereniſſima Republica di Venezia, lib. 2 & 3.

vanced, methinks there were no occaſion for bringing any more to ſhew how pernicious the Clergy are to Commonwealths or Princes who are at variance with the Pope, and how much miſchief they are able to do in ſuch a caſe. However, I will beſides produce ſeveral others in order to prove that that of Venice is not the only ſad example we have of the Perfidy and Rebellion of the Clergy againſt their lawful Sovereigns. And thereby it will appear that they have always rebelled on the like occaſions, and have conſtantly endeavoured to overturn the Government by their Seditions, and inhuman Maſſacres. This then is what a celebrated Hiſtorian tells us.

ONE day, ſays he *, when Henry the fourth was at Melun, a Wretch who had followed him with intent to aſſaſſinate him, was diſcovered and ſeiſed. His name was Peter Barriere about twenty-ſeven years of age. Being in love with a young Girl who was Queen Margaret's Confidante, the diſdainful repulſe of his Miſtreſs threw him into rage and deſpair. So that ſeeking only for an opportunity of periſhing, but apprehending Damnation, he had conceived the deteſtable deſign of aſſaſſinating the King: having often heard from ſome Eccleſiaſtics, that it would be an action worthy of eternal honour,

* Mezeray, Hiſt. de France, anno 1593, pag. 1055, 1056. Edit. de Paris, in fol.

nour, and carry a man directly to Heaven. Being come as far as Lyons with that reſolution, he communicated it to the Archbiſhop's grand Vicar, to a Capuchin, and two other Prieſts, who all approved, and encouraged him in it. Bariere being come to Paris, and finding the King was become a Convert, for ſome days was in doubt whether he ſhould purſue his deſign; but Chriſtopher Aubry, Curate of St. Andrew *des Arcs*, to whom he had been directed by ſomebody, as to one of the moſt zealous Leaguers, exhorted him to it, and Varade, Rector of the Jeſuits, to whom he had been ſent by Aubry, having given him a long lecture, ordered him to be confeſſed, and perſuaded him to execute that horrid enterprize by another Jeſuit. Bariere therefore being encouraged by theſe conſultations, went from St. Denis, and from thence followed the King, ſeeking a proper opportunity to ſtrike the Blow; but was diſcovered and ſeiſed, and owned the whole of what we have been giving the Reader.

THE King upon this returned to Paris. The ſame day he made his Entry *, having not yet pulled off his boots, and being in his Miſtreſs's Chamber, an execrable Blow had like to have cut off the thread of all his deſigns with that of his Life, and made the end of that year as fatal to France, as joyful to his enemies. A young man watching

* It was on December 27, 1594.

ing his opportunity, whilſt the King was ſtepping forward to receive Montigny and Ragny, who were advancing towards him to pay their duty, gave him a blow with a knife with deſign to kill him. But Henry very luckily leaning forward to embrace Montigny, inſtead of ſtriking it into his throat, as he intended, he only ſtruck his upper-lip, but with ſuch a force as to go thro', and break one of his teeth. The ſurpriſe, and afterwards the emotion of every one in the room was great, they all ſtaring at each other, without knowing on whom to fix, the Aſſaſſin having immediately let fall the knife, and gone a ſtep or two backward. The Count of Soiſſon who was near, ſeeing a ſtrange face, and that looked frighted, laid hold of his arm, ſaying, it muſt certainly be he who had ſtruck the blow. He was ſeiſed, tho' he counterfeited an air of innocence, and tho' the King, ſeeing his feigned ſimplicity, and I know not what ſheepiſh look and behaviour, which is common to Scholars that have juſt left ſchool, could not believe him capable of ſuch a crime. He was delivered to the Grand Prevoſt, and the next day to the Parliament. This Aſſaſſin's name was John Chaſtel, about nineteen years of age, ſon of Peter Chaſtel, a Woollen-draper. He had finiſhed his ſtudies, and not long before gone thro' a courſe of Philoſophy under the Jeſuits. A gloomy ſpirit! under which lay brooding a deep and ſullen malice, as his general confeſſion,

ſeſſion, found among his papers, proved. The hardned Wretch moſt impudently inſiſted before his Judges, that killing the King was a good action, and what he might undertake with a ſafe conſcience: for that the King, not being reconciled to the Church, could paſs for nothing but a Tyrant. Wherefore the Jeſuits, under whom he had ſtudied, were immediately accuſed of infuſing that pernicious Doctrine into him, and ſuſpected too of having put ſo damnable a thought into his head. What aggravated the ſuſpicions againſt them was, that the Murtherer ſaid in his Confeſſion, that finding his Conſcience loaded with enormous and unpardonable crimes, for which he looked upon himſelf to be as ſurely damned, as Antichriſt, he had imagined he might by that horrid attempt alleviate thoſe pains he could not avoid, taking a leſs ſevere Hell for a kind of Salvation to him. That this he had learnt from Philoſophy; and that he had gone thro' a courſe of it under Father John Gueret; that they had often taken him into their Meditation-Room, where Hell was painted with many other frightful figures; that he had often heard it as a real maxim in ſeveral places, and from the Jeſuits, that it was lawful to kill the King, as one not within the pale of the Church. Beſides this Depoſition, which gave room for involving them in the ſame proſecution, a Counſellor of the Court, named Lewis Mazures, being appointed to ſearch their College and take an

an inventory of their Papers, found in the ſtudy of one of thoſe Fathers, ſeveral pieces written with his own hand, of a very flagitious and wicked tendency, and full of invectives and pernicious propoſitions, againſt the life and honour of Henry the third, and of the then reigning King.

On theſe ſtrong proofs, the whole College of Jeſuits at Clermont were incontinently arreſted, ſeveral other ſeditious papers were found there, and they were with reaſon charged with the Diſcourſes and Sermons of ſeveral among them upon the ſame ſubject. So that the Parliament, to prevent the dangerous conſequences, and cut off all ſuſpicion of future miſchief, extended the puniſhment to the whole Society, and included them in the ſame Decree of Condemnation with their Scholar John Chaſtel, and as Corrupters of the Youth, Pertubators of the public Peace, Enemies of the King and State, condemned them to depart their Houſes or Colleges in three days, and in fifteen the Kingdom. Thus did the Clergy of France twice make attempts upon that good King's life; and tho' he had then the good fortune to eſcape out of the hands of thoſe cruel Cut-throats, he could not the third time help falling a ſacrifice to the rage of Prieſts by the hands of that Wretch Francis Ravaillac, who killed him, by ſtriking a dagger into his heart, he being in his Coach with the Duke of Eſpernon, at the entrance of one of the

ſtreets

ſtreets of Paris *. The Villain had been puſhed on to that execrable action by a ſet of Men, who finding ſome of the leaven of the League remaining in him, together with a falſe perſuaſion that the King was going to deſtroy the Roman Catholic Religion in Germany, thought him a proper Tool for their deſigns. After he had aſſaſſinated the King, he took no care either to eſcape, or hide his dagger, but ſtood ſtill, as it were to ſhew himſelf, and to boaſt of his fine exploit. He was taken upon the ſpot, ſeveral times examined by a Committee of the Parliament, and by Decree condemned to be drawn to pieces in the Greve, by four horſes; after firſt having the fleſh of his breaſts, arms and thighs torn off with red-hot pincers, without ſhewing the leaſt ſign of fear or pain in the midſt of ſuch ſtrange Torments. And indeed this confirmed the ſuſpicion, that *certain Emiſſaries under the maſque of Piety* had inſtructed and enchanted him with falſe aſſurances of dying a Martyr for killing him, who, as they made him believe, was the ſworn Enemy of the Church †.

THIS is the advantage the Clergy are of to Princes, whenever they have any difference with the Pope. The inſtances I might bring of Seditions, Tumults, Inſurrections, Re-

* May 14, 1610, called, la Rue de la Ferronnerie.

† See Perefixe, Hiſtory of Henry the great, ad ann. 1610, pag. 491, & ſuiv; ———

Rebellions, and Aſſaſſinations cauſed by the Clergy, or by their horrible Intrigues againſt States, that have oppoſed their encroachments, and againſt Princes, who would not ſuffer themſelves to be ſtripped of their Crowns by their rebellious Subjects, are numberleſs. Here then will I cloſe this Diſcourſe, with inſiſting that the Clergy were the Authors of the Civil Wars that laid waſte ſeveral of the Counties of England, during the Reign of Edward the Sixth *. The Jeſuits and Prieſts were they who fomented all the Rebellions againſt Queen Elizabeth. They came into the Kingdom in diſguiſe, and every-where preached, that no action could be more holy, or agreeable to God, than the killing a Baſtard, who was an Uſurper excommunicated, and an Enemy to the Church, as they pretended the Queen was, and ſeveral of them attempted to aſſaſſinate her †. The Prieſts, Fryars, and particularly the Jeſuits contrived the holy and extraordinary Undertaking to blow up the King, Peers of the Realm of England aſſembled in Parliament, and a great number of innocent Perſons, by a Mine ‖. To conclude, the Clergy, in order to wreſt the

* Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, &c. part 2. lib. 1. an. 1549.

† Edmund Campian, Ralph Sherwin, Luke Kirby, and Alexander Brian, Jeſuits, were convicted of High-Treaſon and put to Death. Hereon ſee Rapin's Hiſtory of England, ad an. 1581.

‖ November the 5th, 1605.

the Kingdom of Ireland from King Charles the firſt, were the Authors of that barbarous Maſſacre, wherein above three hundred thouſand Proteſtants periſhed miſerably. *

I AM tired with enumerating ſuch enormous and unnatural actions, wherefore I will ſhut up this Diſcourſe to go upon another ſubject no leſs inſtructive, but more agreeable and entertaining.

* Oct. 1641. Vid. Sir Wm. Temple of the Iriſh Rebellion, pag. 6. Ed. 1646. Quarto.

DIS-



DISCOURSE X.

Of the natural and civil Right of every Man: of the nature of Governments.

BY natural right, I mean the faculty given by Nature to each individual, whereby each of them is forced or determined to act, according as he finds it neceſſary for the preſervation of his own Being. All Animals are forced by Nature to eat, drink, ſleep, &c. Therefore it follows, that they eat, drink, and ſleep of natural and abſolute right, when they ſtand in need of them. In the ſame manner, Fiſh being by nature determined to ſwim, and the greater to devour the ſmaller, conſequently they enjoy water by natural right, and the greater by the ſame right devour the ſmaller. Thus, Birds are determined by Nature to fly, and by conſequence

quence poſſeſs the air by natural right; and Birds of prey by the ſame right feed upon the tame. For it is moſt certain, that Nature, conſidered in the general, has an unlimited right over every part of herſelf: that is, this right extends as far as her power extends, ſo that every thing that ſhe can do is lawful for her to do. For the power of Nature is the very ſame as that of God, whoſe right is eternal, and conſequently unalterable.

Now as the power of Nature is the ſame with that of every individual who make up that Nature, without exception, it follows, that the right of no one of them is limited, but extends as far as the ſtrength and induſtry that Nature has beſtowed on them; and as it is a general law for all Beings, that each of them in particular ſhall perpetuate his kind, as far as lies in his power, without regarding any thing ſave his own preſervation, it follows, that the natural right of every individual is, to ſubſiſt and act to that end according to the power which Nature has given him.

IN this ſtate Men are not to be diſtiuguiſhed from the reſt of natural Beings, no more than the words, reaſon, or wiſdom, and folly; virtue, and vice; honeſt, and diſhoneſt, juſt and unjuſt are, &c. Wherefore there is no difference between the wiſe and the fooliſh, the virtuous and vicious; the good and the bad; for every individual has a right

to

to act according to the laws of his Conſtitution or Organization, that is, according as he is determined by Nature to ſuch or ſuch a thing, without being able to act otherwiſe: So that conſidering Mankind under the Empire of Nature, as unacquainted with what civilized people call Reaſon, or Virtue; and not having acquired a habit of either, they have, I ſay, as much right to Life in purſuing the dictates of their appetite, as they have that live according to the laws of reaſon, virtue, and juſtice, with which they have connected their ideas. That is, that as he who is called wiſe in Society, has a right to do any thing that is dictated to him by reaſon, and to live according to the light of it; ſo the ignorant and fooliſh man in the ſtate of Nature has a right to every thing his appetite ſuggeſts, and to live according to its dictates. For, according to the Apoſtle's opinion *a*, before the law, or in the natural ſtate of Mankind, no man could ſin.

a Rom. 4. v. 15.

It is not then the buſineſs of that reaſon, or juſtice, to regulate the right of nature, but of the deſire or ſtrength of every individual. For, ſo far is Nature from determining us to live according to the laws and rules of this reaſon, that, on the contrary, notwithſtanding education, and the penalties appointed in order to force an obſervation of them, we almoſt always act in conformity to natural impulſes. Such is the power of Nature! Now as we are obliged, as far as in us lies, to preſerve our natural Being, ſo we cannot do it but

but by acting in obedience to the laws of appetite, ſince nature denies us the actual uſe of that reaſon, and none of us are more obliged to live according to the rules of good ſenſe, introduced among us by the civilized part of Mankind, than an Ant is to live according to the nature of an Elephant. From whence it follows, that in the ſtate of mere Nature, we have a lawful right to all things whatever without exception, becauſe Nature has given all to every man, and may uſe it without a crime, if we can get it, whether by force, or cunning, by entreaties, or threats, ſo far as to look upon any one as an enemy, who hinders, or endeavours to hinder us from ſatisfying our appetite.

THEREFORE by natural right, Animals may wiſh for whatever they pleaſe, and do whatever is in their power to ſupport their own individual, or ſatisfy their inclinations. However we are not to imagine that ſo unlimited a liberty can produce any great diſorders amongſt Animals of the ſame kind, as many have thought, becauſe Nature has provided them neceſſaries in abundance; upon which foot, they can have none, no, not the leaſt diſſenſion among them, as I have proved in my third Diſcourſe. So that Lions live in peace and union with Lions, Wolves with Wolves, Foxes with Foxes, Eagles with Eagles, and ſo all other Species, who are in the ſtate of Nature.

It is to be owned indeed that Diſcord, Envy, and an implacable Hatred reign between one Species and another. And this would in reality be a great defect and imperfection in Nature, if her wiſdom conſiſted in making Animals happy for ever. For, upon ſuch a ſuppoſition, the Pigeon would have reaſon to complain of Nature, for not beſtowing upon him a ſufficient ſtrength to defend himſelf againſt the Eagle; the Hare might make the ſame complaint as to the Wolf; and he again as to the Lion. But their complaints would be unjuſt. For, Nature granted Animals their life but for a certain limited time, which is an effect of her infinite goodneſs, to the end that all Beings may ſucceed one another, and enjoy her benefits. Which could never be, if Animals, once alive, were to be immortal. Therefore, ſince they muſt neceſſarily die to make room for others, it imports little whether they die in this or that manner: nay more, I inſiſt that the Pigeon that is the Eagle's prey, and the Wolf that is the Lion's, are happier than the Eagle, or Lion, that have devoured them. For their death is ſudden, and their pains ſhort; whereas the Eagle and Lion, languiſh and ſuffer long before they die, if they die a natural Death. Beſides, the Lion and the Eagle may at their death complain of Nature's injuſtice, by making them the prey of innumerable and inviſible Animals, that lodge in their bones, and throughout their whole bodies, which feeding upon the beſt and fineſt

ſubſtance of their blood, and waſting all their animal ſpirits, kill them without mercy. For, thoſe inviſible Animals that kill not only Lions, but Men too, and all Beaſts that die of a natural Death, have no more thought of the miſchief they do in feeding upon their blood, than Lions and Men have when they kill other Animals for food without mercy, they having all a power to do ſo by an abſolute and natural right.

ANIMALS therefore, far from complaining, ought conſtantly to thank Nature for her infinite juſtice and goodneſs to them, in giving them a limited life only. For, had ſhe created them immortal, ſhe had ſhewed herſelf exceeding cruel; conſidering we are well aſſured there is no condition of life, however happy, but what at laſt grows uneaſy and burthenſom *. As we ſee by thoſe, who having paſſed moſt of their time in the polite World, are deſirous of retiring, and leading a private life in the country; ſo he that lives in ſolitude, often longs for the pleaſures of the World; and laſtly, he that has long enjoyed both, grows tired and out of humour with them, and wiſhes for a new life thro' death. Now ſince Animals are tired of life, tho' there life be of ſo ſhort a duration, and they may be perpetually diverſifying their pleaſures, conſidering the ſhort date of their life; what would it be, were they to live for ever, without ever varying the pleaſures they had

* See the account of the Struldrugs in Gulliver's Travels. Part 3.

had taſted in the firſt fifty years of life? nay, how juſtly might not they complain, who drag an uneaſy languiſhing life from the infirmities to which they are ſubject, or who perpetually groan under the yoke of another Animal, who gives himſelf no uneaſineſs in making them miſerable, in order to gratify his appetite? All Animals therefore ought to look upon Death as the moſt ſignal bleſſing they have received from the hands of Nature, and as the effect of her incomparable wiſdom; Death putting an end to their pain, and making them equal with their Tyrants.

WHAT I have been now ſaying ought to ſurprize no Man, ſince Nature is not confined within the bounds of Reaſon, or the inſtinct of Animals; for the word Nature, of which Animals are but as ſo many ſmall points, means an infinity of other things that relate to an Eternal order, and that inviolable Law, which gives Being, Life, and Motion to all things. So that what ſeems ridiculous, unjuſt, or wicked to Animals, and above all to Man, appears ſuch only becauſe we know things but in part, and becauſe we cannot have an exact idea of the ties and relations of Nature, we not comprehending the immenſe extent of her wiſdom and power. Whence it proceeds, that what reaſon ſets before us as an evil, is far from it in regard to the order and Laws of univerſal Nature, but only in regard to thoſe of our own.

THIS ſupreme natural right, which all Animals enjoy, exclude not Moral good and evil, which is really to be found in the ſtate of Nature. I call moral good, all the actions of Animals tending to the preſervation and propagation of their own individual, and Species, for they are then performing their duty, by aiming at the end, propoſed by Nature in their Creation. On the contrary, I call moral evil all thoſe actions of Animals, that are either in the whole, or in part contrary to thoſe notions, or ſenſations that Nature has implanted in each of them, that they may perceive and know what is proper for their ſubſiſtance, and for perpetuating their Species as far as in them lies.

ALLWISE Nature, the tender mother of all Animals, not ſatisfied with impreſſing on their mind thoſe notions, has always affixed a proportionable recompence to moral good, and a like puniſhment to moral evil, to the end that all Animals may chuſe the one, and avoid the other with pleaſure. Not that ſhe had any occaſion to ſettle ſuch rewards and puniſhments in order to be obeyed; for, as ſhe is Almighty, ſhe well knew ſhe ſhould be obeyed, as in fact ſhe is by all except one Species, which is Man. And it was for them ſhe appointed them, becauſe knowing they had ſeveral cavities in their brain, filled with animal ſpirits, which by a high fermentation would ſo heat their imagination, as to make them fall into a ſort of madneſs, or Delirium;

Nature,

Nature, I ſay, to bring them back from their wandring, has thought fit ſeverely to puniſh them, whenever they ſwerve from their duty, and act agreeably to the falſe notions with which that madneſs inſpires them, which notions tend to the deſtruction of their own individual, and to make their Species unhappy. I will explain my ſelf.

It is well known, that all Animals, except Man, act according to the notions infuſed into them by Nature, commonly called Inſtinct, without ever departing from it. Every Individual, for inſtance, knows its proper food, and the actions to be performed in order to live in health, and perpetuate its Species. Conſequently to theſe notions it acts, by chuſing at firſt ſuch places as are agreeable to it: ſome live in Marſhes, ſome in the Fields, ſome in the Plains, and others on Hills; ſome ſwim, others crawl, and in ſhort, ſome, called amphibious, live both on Land, and in Water.

All theſe Animals perceive what they are to do in order to ſubſiſt. Wherefore they eat, drink, and make uſe of their females, when they have occaſion; nor did, or do, any one of them ever force itſelf to eat, or drink, or enjoy its females, when it was ſatisfied; nor did ever any of them ever voluntarily refuſe to eat, drink, or make uſe of their females, whenver Nature required it; thus by denying themſelves nothing neceſſary, and by never forcing themſelves to do what is beyond their ſtrength,

ſtrength, they lead a healthy and a happy Life.

BUT this is not the caſe of Mankind. For, tho' they pretend to a greater ſhare of wiſdom and reaſon than other Animals, their actions ſhew they have leſs than the reſt of them; ſome thro' exceſſive folly eating and drinking when they are neither hungry, nor dry, ſo far as to bring diſtempers upon and kill themſelves; and forcing themſelves upon venereal pleaſure when they are exhauſted, in ſo much as to deſtroy themſelves: Others from a contrary madneſs, denying themſelves meat, and drink, and the enjoyment of Women, and dragging a miſerable life, conſume and pine away. Thus by not allowing Nature what ſhe abſolutely requires, or forcing her beyond her ſtrength, they are guilty of real Moral evil, from whence the Phyſical takes its riſe, which cruelly torments them their whole life time. Another madneſs, to which Mankind are ſubject, is Avarice, which puts Men upon perpetually heaping up riches, without making any uſe of them, for fear of wanting; ſo that the Miſer not only makes himſelf miſerable, but greatly contributes to the miſery of others. There is ſtill another kind of madneſs, called Ambition, that lords it over Man, which puts moſt Men upon depriving themſelves of what is really neceſſary for life, for Chimeras, that are entirely uſeleſs and ſuperfluous to them.

THE ill effects of this laſt folly have not ſtopped there, but produced the greateſt diſorders amongſt Men, and made them more unhappy than all other Animals. For, it has happened, that ſome of them thinking themſelves better than others, have endeavoured to get above them, appropriate to themſelves what belonged to the reſt by Natural right, and make their companions their ſlaves, which by the oppoſition they have found, has occaſioned tumults, and civil Wars.

THESE different Phrenſies that have taken poſſeſſion of the minds of Men, and that have in all times ſcattered trouble and confuſion amongſt the race of Men, have from time to time obliged wiſe Men (who made uſe of their reaſon in order to preſerve themſelves from falling into that ſad and terrible Delirium, to which they were liable) to admoniſh the reſt with a view of reclaiming them from their errors; and thoſe admonitions had ſometimes ſo good an effect, that a whole Nation perceiving and deteſting their Frenzy, voluntary ſubmitted to the deciſions of thoſe wiſe Men, and each Man, renouncing and diſclaiming his natural right, promiſed obedience to them, upon condition that they on their ſide ſhould always endeavour to make that Nation happy. This was the riſe and formation of Ariſtocratical Government.

IT

IT has likewiſe happened, that a Nation, being rent aſunder by inteſtine diſcords, or by the hoſtilities of a more powerful Neighbour, has on a ſudden awaked from its Lethargy, and finding that their evils were cauſed by a diviſion among the People, who being thus divided, might eaſily fall a prey to all who might attack them; therefore, to ſave themſelves, they have thought of chuſing a Head, a Man of prudence, equity, and courage, into whoſe hands the reſt reſigned their own right, as a depoſit, and promiſed to obey him, provided he kept up a good corrreſpondence among them, and defended them againſt the inſults of their enemies. Thus was a Monarchy formed.

OTHERS being preſſed by the ſame motives, to apply a remedy to their evils, but thinking it dangerous to transfer their rights to one ſingle Perſon, or to a ſmall number, choſe not to diveſt themſelves of it, but only to ſettle good Laws amongſt them by one common conſent, by the means of which they might maintain themſelves in peace, and defend themſelves againſt all who would moleſt them. To this end they elected Magiſtrates with a power of putting them in execution, to remain in their office but a certain time, after which they were to be no more than private Citizens, and the reſt in their turn were to enjoy the ſame poſts; ſo that they did not diveſt themſelves of their Natural

ral right, but only placed it in common, and thus formed a perfect Democracy.

Every Government, formed by the general conſent of the People, is juſt and reaſonable; and as they have freely ſubmitted to thoſe Laws, that they themſelves ſettled; the Prince in a Monarchical, and the Magiſtrates in an Ariſtocratical, or Democratical Government, have occaſion for no other means, to put the Laws in execution, than what are put into their hands by the People, at the original ſettlement.

But it is not the ſame with unjuſt and tyrannical Governments, I mean ſuch as are ſet up againſt the will of the People *: for, as it is impoſſible for one Man, or a ſmall number of Men, to wreſt the right of all the reſt out of their hands, without their conſent; Tyrants have been conſtrained to uſe open force to bring them under, or elſe not being able to force them, to make uſe of ſome powerful ſtratagem to extort a ſubmiſſion from them. And this ſtratagem practiſed by Tyrants to enſlave a free Nation, is Superstition. And indeed it is the moſt effectual, proper, and ſure means a Tyrant can make uſe of. For it is in an inſtant able to bring down the natural Pride of Men, which hinders their ſubmiſſion to one like themſelves, and to make them humble, tractable, and ready to obey,

* Tyrannus eſt, qui imperat ex propria ſententia.

obey, by perſuading them they ſubmit to and obey God, and not Man *.

THIS vain Perſuaſion was what made the Jews ſubmit to Soſem, and the Arabians to Mahomet; and without the aſſiſtance of Religion, they never would have been able to be Maſters of them. From whence we may conclude, that *Superſtition* is no neceſſary expedient in the eſtabliſhment of a good and juſt Government, I mean ſuch an one as is deſired by the People; but only to ſet up and maintain a Governor hated and deteſted by all Men. For, as the conſent of the People, which is the only true and ſolid baſis of Government, is never the baſis of Tyranny; ſo he muſt neceſſarily make much of Religion, becauſe that ſtrikes an awe, and keeps up fear in the breaſts of Men, from which ſprings obedience.

THE Duty therefore of ſuch, who have diſclaimed their Natural right, to form a Society, is to obey the Laws themſelves have made; and the Duty of a Prince or Magiſtrate, is to ſee them obeyed, without pretending to make the leaſt tittle of alteration in them. But if the Prince, or Magiſtrate makes any innovation, or alteration in thoſe Laws, the People have a right to depoſe, and puniſh them, according to their deſerts; ſeeing

* Nulla res efficacius Multitudinem regit, quam Superſtitio: Alioqui impotens, ſæva, mutabilis; ubi vana Religione capta eſt, melius vatibus, quam ducibus paret. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 10.

ſeeing that the conditional obedience, promiſed to them, ceaſes, as ſoon as they ceaſe to do their Duty. In the ſame manner every Nation has a right to ſhake off a Tyrant's yoke by all ſorts of means, let him have ſet up his Tyranny by force or fraud, becauſe in whatever way it be, it is ſtill without the free conſent of the People.

HAVING ſhewn the Natural and Civil Rights of Mankind, I ſhall now ſpeak of the nature of Governments. They are generally four. The Monarchical or Abſolute, the Ariſtocratical, the Democratical, and the Mixt. Theſe are four implacable Enemies, that are eternally ſtriving to deſtroy each other. The firſt I ſhall ſpeak of is the Democratical, not only as it is the moſt ancient, and agreeable to the natural and free condition of Men, but to ſhew my reſpect for our great Legiſlator, who alone had the honour of re-eſtabliſhing it amongſt Men, after thoſe enemies of Mankind, and of their own Species, had deſtroyed it.

IT was Chriſt that reinſtated Mankind in their Natural right, as I have made appear in my third Diſcourſe, and if Chriſtians have not known how to maintain themſelves in that happy condition, the fault is not to be aſcribed to the Laws of Chriſt, which are excellent, but to the ambition and malice of thoſe, who would not obey them; who putting a wrong ſenſe upon his words, and intentions, made uſe of it as a means to bring back

back ſimple and ignorant Chriſtians to ſlavery. Be this ſaid in honour of ſo good and wiſe a Legiſlator!

DEMOCRATICAL Government then is that, where the whole authority is in the hands of the People indiſtinctly, and where Men are equal in nobility, power, and riches. To which end all poſſeſſions muſt belong to the Republic, which like a good Mother, muſt diſtribute them to every Man, according to his neceſſities; ſo that no Man muſt be reduced to beggary, and no Man muſt enjoy ſuperfluities.

ACCORDING to theſe maxims a popular Government may be ſet up and preſerved; but if they be not purſued, but theſe words *meum & tuum* ſuffered to be brought into the Society, the ruin of it is inevitable. Wherefore we are never to ſuffer ſuch expreſſions as theſe; my Goods, my Father, my Mother, my Children, my Brothers, my Siſters, they being inconſiſtent with the Nature of a Democratical Government, and deſtroying it in its very Infancy, as I have proved in my third Diſcourſe *. Witneſs the

* A Family is but too often a Commonwealth of Malignants; what we call the charities and ties of affinity, prove but ſo many ſeparate and claſhing intereſts. The Son wiſhes the death of the Father, the younger Brother that of the elder, the elder repines at the Siſter's portions. When any of them marry there are new diviſions, and new animoſities. It is but natural and reaſonable to expect all this, and yet we fancy no comfort but in a Family. Pope and Swift's Miſcel. Vol. 2. p. 284.

the Republics of Geneva, Swiſſerland, and others, which notwithſtanding they deſigned to ſettle a perfect Democracy, were not able to ſucceed in it, becauſe they did not eſtabliſh it upon a proper foundation.

A MIX'D Government is like a Body with three Heads, which having but one will, and one power, keep the Body ſound and in peace. But ſhould one of them grow too weak, the Body is much diſordered by it, and ſhould it unluckily ſink under the diſorder, the Body grows deformed and is terribly ſhocked by it. But if two of them ſhould ſink, and one only remain, then the Body is entirely ruined.

IN a mix'd Government the firſt and faireſt but not the moſt powerful Head is that of the Prince; the ſecond is that of the Nobility, and the third, that of the People. There is a fourth, that uſes all its endeavours to join itſelf to the three other, and make it a monſtrous Body by ſpoiling the perfection of the Triangle; nay it ſhews a burning deſire to get upon the other, and if they do not take care, they will ſink under the heavy weight of it, and be trampled upon, as they formerly were *. But it is to be hoped

* Rex Ine commendato regno ſuo Ethelardo cognato ſuo, Romam profectus eſt. Qui primus omnium regum denarium ex ſingulis domibus regni ſui Beato Petro fertur conceſſiſſe, quod diu ab Anglis *Romeſcot*, Latine vero, Denarius Sancti Petri vocabatur. Cui peregrinationi Uxor Regis

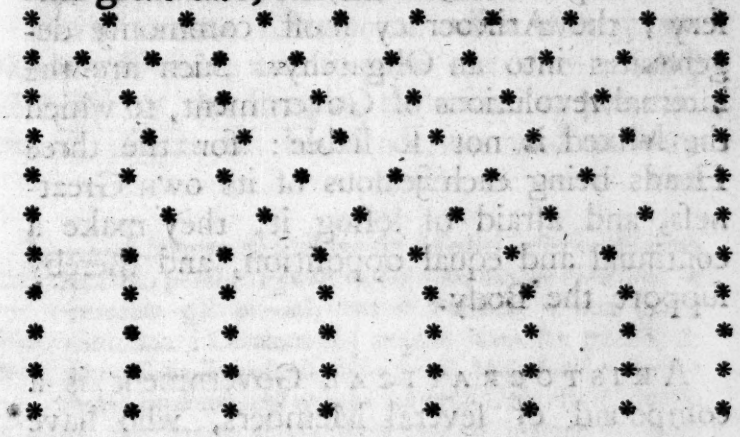
hoped they will remember the Calamities this Monſter made them ſuffer, and will never give him an opportunity of riſing again. The Head I mean is not Meduſa's, but the Eccleſiaſtical, a much more miſchievous Head than the other. For the Evils Mankind ſuffered by Meduſa's were only imaginary, whereas thoſe they ſuffered, and ſtill ſuffer from Prieſts, are but too real.

THE cauſes then that may overturn a mixed Government are, when one of thoſe Heads

Regis Ethelburga occaſionem præbuit in hunc modum, &c. Ranulphi Hidgeni Polychronicon, lib. 5. an. 728. Vide etiam Platin. in Leone 4.———John, furnamed *ſans terre*, went to Dover Church, accompanied by the Legate, and a great number of Lords, and Officers of his Army, to perform his Promiſe. It was there that in the preſence of all the People, taking off his Crown, he ſet that and all the other enſigns of Royalty at the Legate's foot, who repreſented the Pope. Then he ſigned a Deed, whereby he reſigned the Kingdom of England, and Lordſhip of Ireland to the Pope. In that Charter he declared, that it was neither from force or fear, that he made that reſignation, but voluntarily, and by the conſent of all the Barons of the Kingdom, as having no other way of expiating the Crimes he had committed againſt God and his Church. From that moment he acknowledged himſelf a Vaſſal of the holy See, and as ſuch obliged himſelf to pay a rent of a thouſand Marks Sterling-Money, viz. ſeven hundred for the Kingdom of England, and three hundred for Ireland. In ſhort, he agreed, that if he, or any of his Succeſſors ſhould ever withdraw the Submiſſion they owed the holy See, he ſhould loſe all the right he had to the Crown. He afterwards did Homage to the Pope in the perſon of his Legate, who to ſhew his Maſter's Greatneſs, trampled upon ſome Money that Prince preſented him with, as a mark of his Dependance, &c. Rapin Thoyras, Hiſtory of England, ad an. 1213.

Heads grows in power by leſſening that of the two other. For example; the whole Authority is divided into three equal parts; one belonging to the Prince, one to the Nobility, and one to the People. The Prince is to hinder the Nobility from encroaching too much upon the People, for whilſt they have them at their devotion, they poſſeſs two thirds of the Authority, and the Prince cannot, with his third only, oppoſe the deſigns of the Nobility. Thus a mixed Government may eaſily be changed into an Ariſtocratical.

In the ſame manner the Nobility ought to fear the Prince's gaining the Love of the People, and making uſe of it as a ſtep towards Deſpotiſm; and the People ought to take great care, leſt the Prince * * * *



Just ſo, ſhould the People grow arrogant, and neither the Prince nor Nobility oppoſe their Arrogance, they will at laſt grow ſo inſolent and powerful, that neither of

of them will be able to hinder them from changing the Mixed, into a Democratical Government.

OF all Governments, however, the Mixed is the moſt durable, as being ſupported by itſelf, whereas the reſt have no ſupport at all. For, the Democratical cannot ſupport itſelf, it being almoſt always ill-founded. The Monarchical ſupports itſelf with difficulty, having no other than the Prince's; and as it is very difficult for a Prince to be good, juſt, and prudent, the Monarchical very eaſily falls into a Tyrannical Government. The Ariſtocratical would be as durable as the mixed, was the Authority exactly divided among the Nobles; but as it generally happens that a ſmall number grow rich and powerful, and the reſt fall into miſery; the Ariſtocracy moſt commonly degenerates into an Oligarchy. Such are the internal revolutions of Government, to which the Mixed is not ſo liable: for the three Heads being each jealous of its own Greatneſs, and afraid of loſing it, they make a continual and equal oppoſition, and thereby ſupport the Body.

ARISTOCRATICAL Government is a compound of ſeveral Members, who have the whole Authority divided amongſt them. Theſe Members whom I may call PRIMORES, or OPTIMATES ſhould never allow any one of them to grow richer or more powerful than the reſt of them. For, by gain-

gaining the People by his liberalities, he may eaſily overturn the Ariſtocracy, and make himſelf abſolute Prince of his Country, as did Coſmo at Florence *. — And farther, they are not to ſuffer the young Nobility to inſult the People by raviſhing their Wives or otherwiſe; nothing being more likely to provoke, and make them revolt than continual inſults, and manifeſt acts of injuſtice. But they are neither to injure nor favour them, but keep them always employed either in public diverſions and ſhows, or in the exerciſe of arms, and military diſcipline, or in mechanical arts and trade: that being thus always buſied, and having no occaſion of complaining of the Nobility, they may not endeavour to ſhake off the yoke; a Republic having nothing to fear ſo much as the idleneſs and hatred of the People.

But as one Citizen or other may grow rich by Trade, and ſo gain the eſteem and affection of the People, therefore to prevent the ill effects of his ambition and power,

*—— L'Opere di Coſimo de' Medici, che ce lofanno ſoſpetto, ſono perche egli ſerve de' ſuoi danari ciaſcuno, e non ſolamente gli privati, ma il Publico, e non ſolo i Fiorentini, ma i Condottieri; perche favoriſce quello, & quell' altro Cittadino che ha biſogno di Magiſtrati; perche tira con benevolenza ch' egli ha tra nell' Univerſale, queſto & quell' altro amico a' Maggiori gradi d' honore, --- modi tutti, che tirano gli huomini volando al Principato. -------- Perche ſolo Coſimo, per i favori che dalle immoderate ſue ricchezze naſcevano, teneva inferma la Repubblica, & s'era condotto tant' alto, che ſe non vi ſi provedeva, ne diventerebbe Principe, &c. Macchiav. dell' Hiſt. Fiorent. lib. 4.

the Nobility ſhould admit him into their Body, whereby they will reap two very conſiderable advantages. The firſt, that they will ſatisfy his ambition by receiving him among the Nobility, and the ſecond, that by his Riches, they will make an addition to the ſtrength of the Republic: ſuppoſing the Poſſeſſions of theſe Optimates to be held in common, as it ought to be in a true Ariſtocratical Government, for the reaſons I ſhall preſently give.

ACCORDING to theſe Rules, an Ariſtocratical Government might flouriſh, and grow very great; but by not obſerving them, nor keeping up an equality among the Nobility, Ariſtocracies have ever degenerated into Oligarchies; the moſt deplorable condition into which a Commonwealth can fall! For, ſhe then becomes the prey of a ſmall number of Men, that, out of an ambition of aggrandiſing themſelves, ſacrifice the Public good to their own private intereſt; the Commonwealth then ſinks and decays by degrees, and the People ſuffer greater, and more laſting evils, than they would under the Tyranny of one. For, the genius and inclinations of a Tyrant may be dived into and ſatisfied; but it were impoſſible to diſcover the different tempers and inclinations of many Tyrants, all of them running counter to each other, ſo that by obliging one, the reſt will be diſobliged, and the People have a load of Miſery to bear, from which they know not how to extricate themſelves.

Be-

Beſides, they that bear a ſingle Tyrant's yoke, may have ſome reaſon to hope after his death, to meet with a good and juſt Prince who will put an end to their misfortunes; but under an Oligarchy the People ſee their misfortunes encreaſe daily, without knowing when they will end. For, tho' a Republic be very corrupt and infirm, it may laſt Ages before it be deſtroyed: becauſe an Oligarchy conſumes the Ariſtocratical Body by degrees till its deſtruction, in the ſame manner as an Hectick-Feaver conſumes the human Body: and as the ſick Perſon foreſees his end long before it happens, having no remedy to apply capable of curing him; ſo the Republic ought to look upon its diſſolution as unavoidable, unleſs it can rid itſelf of this inteſtin evil that is conſuming it.

If then a Republic is deſirous of getting rid of this evil in order to re-eſtabliſh an Ariſtocracy, ſhe muſt abſolutely ſettle an equality amongſt the Nobles, that compoſe it, which can never be done, ſo long as every man has the liberty of acquiring Riches *, and enjoying the property of them. For they cannot all make equal acquiſitions, and from ſuch an inequality proceeds its ruin, as I have inſiſted. To this end all *meum* and *tuum* muſt be rooted out of the whole Body of the Nobility, and that

* Divitias comitatur luxus, luxus exit in Tyrannidem. Eraſm. Senten.

Nobility muſt be held ſtrictly to obey thoſe very Laws, which a whole People is to obey under a Democratical Government.

IN this manner the equality may be kept up among the Nobility, and conſequently an union. The Republic will daily grow in power, and can never be deſtroyed of itſelf. But by neglecting them, though it were never to be deſtroyed by any external evil, that is, by another more powerful Commonwealth or Nation, yet it muſt certainly be ſo by this internal corroſive, that is perpetually gnawing and preying upon its vitals. Witneſs the Republics of Venice and Genoa, whoſe Power has ſunk and is daily ſinking to ſuch a degree, that they are not in a condition to bear up againſt the leaſt petty Prince that ſhould have a mind to attack them; and that, from the Corruption that has crept into their Government, that is no longer Ariſtocratical, but Oligarchical.

MONARCHICAL Government is that, where a ſingle Perſon is abſolute Maſter of all the Inhabitants of his Dominions. He alone commands, all the reſt obey. He may make new Laws, and lay aſide the old ones. He can do good or harm to whomſoever he pleaſes, being the Sovereign Diſpenſer of Rewards and Puniſhments; and, in a word, can diſpoſe of the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects without controul. For, as in an Ariſtocratical Government the People

People muſt ſubmit to the Decrees of the Senate, ſo in a Monarchical, they muſt ſubmit to the Will and Pleaſure of the Monarch, he being veſted with the whole Authority of the Senate.

NEXT to a Democratical Government, this would be the beſt of them all, could it be conſtantly ſuppoſed that a Monarch had all the qualities neceſſary for being juſtly ſtiled the Father of his People. But as ſuch a ſuppoſition is falſe, conſidering how morally impoſſible it is to find one Man endowed with thoſe Perfections; a Monarchical Government is the worſt of all, it being the eaſieſt changed into a Tyrannical *. This may happen from two directly oppoſite cauſes, that is, where the Prince is too good, or too bad: His too great Goodneſs being the effect of his little genius; and his Wickedneſs, of his cruel, or covetous, or ambitious Temper: but be it from his Imbecility, or his Cruelty, his Ambition, or his Avarice, the People will ſtill be unhappy.

FOR, ſhould he be covetous, he will ſuffer no methods, however barbarous or cruel, to go

* But I hope to prove, that of all things under the Sun, there is none more mutable or unſtable than abſolute Monarchy;—— This might be proved by many arguments, but I ſhall confine my ſelf to two; the one drawn from Reaſon, the other from Matters of Fact.——And no ſtability can be found in the Reigns of thoſe great Kings, unleſs that name be given to the Pride, Idolatry, Cruelty, and Wickedneſs, in which they remained conſtant. Algernon Sidney, Diſc. concerning Government, ch. 2. ſect. 11.

go unemployed to make himſelf Maſter of their Fortunes; and if he be cruel or ambitious, he will without Juſtice or reaſon ſhed his Subjects blood, to ſatisfy that abominable inclination. On the other hand, ſhould he prove a weak Prince, he will be incapable of adminiſtering Juſtice, or of governing his People well, but will be forced to give the reins of Government into the hands of his Miniſtry; and as experience teaches us, that a cowardly Officer can never make brave Soldiers, ſo a weak and ſtupid Prince can never make nor chuſe able Miniſters. Nay, what is ſtill worſe, I inſiſt that he will always chuſe the worſt and wickedeſt, becauſe they will be moſt like himſelf. Nor let it be objected that the wicked Temper of ſuch a Prince may be corrected by the wiſe counſels of ſome of his Subjects: For, as by being ſtupid, or cruel, or ambitious, or covetous, he is incapable of diſtinguiſhing them, he would infallibly reject them; and ſuch as had recommended them would fall under his diſpleaſure for it *, as I have unhappily made the experience.

SUCH a Prince, as here deſcribed, would confer his whole Authority upon ſuch as ſhould be the proper Inſtruments and tools of his Vices; or elſe that Authority would fall into hands moſt likely to uſurp it, by making advantage of the Prince's ſimplicity. But which ever of the two be the caſe, what good can the People hope from ſuch Miniſters,

* Vide Alg. Sydney, ubi ſupra, ch. 1. ſect. 3.

ſters, that ſacrifice the public to their private views, by falling in with the Prince's vitious inclinations, or making an ill uſe of his folly. In ſuch a juncture Juſtice and Virtue are driven from the Throne, and a door opened to all ſorts of crimes. For, the Public is burthened with new and heavy Taxes, to ſatisfy the Prince's, or his Favourite's avarice and ambition: the greateſt Villain obtains a pardon for the moſt enormous crimes for a ſum of Money; the juſt man is oppreſſed, being looked upon by the Prince and his Miniſters as a declared Enemy, who is perpetually reproaching them with their infamous actions; and laſtly, Virtue and Equity in the Subject are conſidered as the higheſt and moſt unpardonable Guilt.

When a Prince is of ſuch a temper, the Monarchy changes to a Tyranny, or Anarchy: ſo that Monarchical Government may be eſteemed rather as imaginary, or ſpeculative, than real. For it is extremely hard to find a prudent, brave, and juſt Prince, and much more, two on three who ſucceed each other, in Prudence, Valour, and Juſtice. But it is a very common caſe for twenty bad ones to reign one after another. For, if the beſt Hiſtorians, either ancient or modern may be credited, we ſhall find that the great number of wicked Princes that have diſturbed the World, will make the ſmall number of good ones that have reigned, diſappear, and eſcape our obſervation.

Nor

NOR is what I advance matter of ſurprize, becauſe it cannot be otherwiſe; it being very poſſible for a Prince's mind to be ruined and corrupted by the ill qualities I have mentioned, and almoſt impoſſible to be adorned with thoſe perfections that are ſo neceſſary for the well-governing of his People. Hitherto we have treated only of thoſe internal evils, whereby a Monarchical Government is rent aſunder, occaſioned by the vices of the Monarch himſelf. We ſhall now ſuppoſe an Arbitrary Government where the Prince is juſt, and prudent, and enumerate thoſe external evils, whereby it may not only be afflicted, but entirely deſtroyed.

A KING may, as we have ſeen, overturn a Kingdom; but he may likewiſe preſerve it incorruptible. To this end therefore it is neceſſary that the Prince ſhould be prudent and ſagacious, becauſe by Prudence he will learn to be reſerved in his Judgments, and by Sagacity he will learn to diſtinguiſh Truth from Falſhood, and judge rightly of what Prudence ſhall dictate to him. By the means of theſe two good qualities a Prince may be juſt, as being able to diſtinguiſh Good from Evil; to do which it is abſolutely neceſſary, in order to diſpenſe Juſtice. A Prince ſo qualified will be able to chuſe good Miniſters to govern the State, and to appoint good Judges to condemn the Guilty, and clear the Innocent.

BUT,

But, as the affairs of this World are liable to change, and from good become evil, a ſagacious Prince will ſoon find whether the Miniſters, and Judges, he has appointed to govern his Dominions, and adminiſter Juſtice, continue in a ſtrict performance of their Duty, or make an ill uſe of the Authority he has entruſted them with, and ſo can ſoon put a ſtop to it.

In order for the Prince to be capable of finding this out, he muſt allow of Accuſations of two kinds, which we ſhall divide into greater, and leſſer. The leſſer are to include the Crimes, quarrels, and diſſenſions ariſing among Men out of Employment, be brought before Judges appointed to take cognizance of them. The greater are to relate to the Treaſons, Injuſtice, Partialities, and Extortions of Miniſters of State, Senators, Governors of Towns, Intendants of Provinces, *&c.* upon the People. For all theſe laſt Crimes the Prince muſt ſet aſide ſome hours once a week to give Audience to *Informers*, each Man by himſelf, and without Witneſs. For, the Informer being ſecure of a private Audience of the Prince, will not ſtick to diſcover the Truth; whereas he would not venture to ſpeak at a public Audience, or before witneſs, for fear of being diſcovered, and afterwards perſecuted by the perſon he had accuſed, or ſome of his relations, or friends.

THIS is the moſt proper method any King can take juſtly to acquire the title of Equitable. For, he can never be ſecure of the Equity or Fidelity of his Miniſters, by the way of Petitions only: becauſe the Truth will always be hidden, or at leaſt diſguiſed from him by the Miniſters that receive them, who often are the relations, friends, or enemies of him againſt whom the Petition is preſented. So that the matter is laid before the Prince in what light they judge proper; the Innocent being repreſented as guilty, and the Guilty as innocent, according to the different motives of Love or Hatred, that influence them.

THAT Prince therefore, that would not be impoſed upon, will hear alone and in private all the greater Accuſations, and before imparting any thing to his Miniſters, will order the actions, and whole behaviour of the Perſon acculed to be enquired into; and if he find him really guilty, he may incontinently puniſh him according to the enormity of the crime; by that means deliver his Subjects from the evils he has done them, and intimidate the reſt of his Miniſtry, by the example of his diſgrace.

SUCH a wholeſom Regulation, would be a benefit not only to the People, as it would hinder the Miniſtry from oppreſſing them, but would be of exceeding great uſe to the Prince too. For, his Subjects would love him

him much more, when convinced of his Equity and goodness by his impartial distribution of Justice. Every Monarch should have his People's affection much at heart; for, whenever he is beloved by them, it is hardly probable there will be any Conspiracies against him, Conspirators generally founding their hopes upon the People's hatred to their Prince *. For this reason, whenever he is hated, his Death will be longed for by many, and some One will resolve to kill him, the common fate of Tyrants †. But if he be good and just, lending an ear to the complaints that are made against his Ministers, he may easily discover almost all the Conspiracies entered against the State, or his own Person; and to encourage Informers to hide nothing from him, he should publish a Proclamation promising a large reward to the Informer, and his own pardon too, in case of his being an Accomplice. And indeed it is almost morally impossible for any Conspiracy to be kept secret, unless contrived and undertaken by a single Person. In such case all human prudence is vain, but it is a rare thing to find Men capable of running upon inevitable Death, only to take away another's Life ‖, tho' indeed some examples there have been in every Age. For, Pausanias killed Philip of Ma-

* Macchiav. Prince, ch. 19.

† *Ad generum Cereris sine cæde, & vulnere pauci*
Descendunt Reges, & sicca morte Tyranni.
Juven. Sat. 10. ver. 110.

‖ Macchiavel gives his reasons for it, in his Discourses on Livy. Disc. 3. ch. 6.

Macedon in the midſt of his Guards *: and Balthaſar Gerard ſhot Wm. Prince of Orange †. Many more inſtances I might bring both ancient and modern, were not all the World convinced of the notoriety of it.

HOWEVER, ſuch caſes are rare, and would ſtill be more ſo if Princes would gain the affection of their People, and granted thoſe Audiences. For as it is difficult for him to diſcover the Truth, as Flatteries, intereſted Miniſters, and ſuch as are afraid of it, always hide it from him; the Prince will be ſure to diſcover it ſo long as he leaves a door open for it, thro' which it may come at him undiſguiſed.

AFTER a Prince has appointed theſe audiences, he muſt, in order to prevent the diſorders that might ariſe from ſo excellent a regulation, make a law, appointing the ſame puniſhment ‖ to be inflicted on the Informer, as would have been upon the Accuſed, in caſe he be proved innocent. To that end the Prince muſt have the accuſation in the hand writing of the Informer, to be produced as his Juſtification, or Condemnation. Thus he will be ſure of not being peſtered with a great number of thoſe, who out of a ſpirit of hatred or revenge, ſhall endeavour to calumniate his Miniſters.

A

* Juſtin. lib. 9. cap. 6.

† July the 10th, 1584, at Delpht in Holland. See L'Apologie pour Jean Chaſtel, &c. pag. 119.

‖ Lex Talionis.

A Prince, that would purſue theſe Maxims, would be really juſt and abſolute, provided all the Inhabitants of his Dominions were his Subjects. But if unfortunately there ſhould be a number of Men richer or more powerful than the reſt of the People, and neither their Perſons nor Eſtates were ſubject to the Laws of the Country, and they were reſpected and beloved by the People more than the Prince himſelf; in ſuch caſe he would no longer be Abſolute, and conſequently his being juſt would ſignify nothing, becauſe he could not puniſh the crimes and diſorders committed by thoſe People, as not being under his juriſdiction; nay, nor could puniſh his own Subjects, ſhould they take refuge with thoſe Men that were independant of him. Thus the public Peace would be inceſſantly diſturbed, the Prince's Authority reſtrained and neglected, and the Monarchy would change to a Duarchy, or, more properly ſpeaking, the Government would become Anarchical, or all in Cumbuſtion.

That King then, who ſhould find himſelf in this ſad condition, and had a regard for his People, for the Public tranquillity, and his own Authority, would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to make thoſe Men ſubmit to his will; and in caſe of refuſal, baniſh them his Dominions: For ſhould he not either make them ſubmit, or drive them out, they will in time grow ſo inſolent and powerful, as to bring an infinite number of Evils upon his People,

People, and at last overturn the Monarchy, as they formerly did the Roman Empire, tho' they were obliged to the Emperors for their Power, as we have seen in the sixth Discourse.

NOR are we to wonder those Wretches are so ungrateful and wicked, for they have ever been so. For we find in the earliest times, that the Egyptian Clergy, who were more numerous than that of any other Country, were in possession of two thirds of the Estates in land of the whole Kingdom; and that at last they arrived at such a degree of Wealth as to swallow up almost the whole Kingdom *.

WE find too that the Magi, or Persian Priests, succeeded so far as to turn their Mitre into a Diadem, and were once very near getting the vast Dominions of Persia into their hands †: and lastly, we find that in the wide Empire of Ethiopia, the Power of the Hierarchy rose to such an excessive height, that the Clergy usurped an arbitrary Power over the lives of the Laity, and even that of the Emperors ‖.

AND yet notwithstanding the Evils those common Enemies have brought upon Men, by the ambition they ever had and still have of lording it over Mankind, there is no Empire,

* Diodor. Sic. Biblioth. Hist. lib. 1.

† Herodot. Historiar. lib. 3.

‖ Diodor. Sic. lib. 3.

pire, or Society but what thinks itſelf upon a wrong foundation, without Prieſts, which is one of the greateſt Prejudices in the World. For, according to the teſtimony of one of the Ancients, there have been very flouriſhing Kingdoms, and very happy People, though entirely unprovided with Prieſts. (That is, with Roman Prieſts, as our Author obſerves.) *

THE means then to be uſed by any Prince either to make thoſe independant Perſons ſubmit to his Authority, or to drive them out of his Dominions, are Force, or Art. Force, if he be under no fear of obſtacles from them or their Allies, and Art if he knows he cannot employ Force; and Force and Art jointly, if he think them both neceſſary. In the two following Diſcourſes therefore I ſhall ſhew how a Prince ſhould ſet about it, in order to ſucceed in ſo juſt and laudable an attempt.

* Ubi magis a Sacerdotibus quam inter aras, & delubra conducuntur ſtupra, tractantur lenocinia, adulteria meditantur? Ferventius denique in ædituorum cellulis, quam in ipſis lupanaribus flagrans libido defungitur: & tamen ante eos, diu Regna tenuerunt. Aſſyrii, Medi, & Græci etiam, cum Pontifices, & Arvales, & Salios, & Veſtales, & Augures non haberent. Minut. Fæl. Not. Var. pag. 231.

DIS-



DISCOURSE XI.

Wherein it is proved that RELIGION was introduced into Society by Legiſlators to give a Sanction to their Laws; and that conſequently all Sacred and Civil Authority belong *de Jure* to the PRINCE.



THO' I am going to ſhew that the RELIGIONS introduced among Men, in different places, and at different times, are no more than the product of the human mind, yet I hope I ſhall not offend thoſe who have a juſt, or at leaſt a reaſonable notion of the Deity; for if God being a moſt perfect, is likewiſe an eternal and immutable Being, they will conclude that his Laws too muſt be moſt perfect, and conſequently immutable. Theſe Laws, which have in all times, and muſt ever ſubſiſt, frame that univerſal Religion,

ligion, which is without beginning or end, and which I call Natural. This Religion infinitely wiſe and juſt I have proved in my third Diſcourſe to be the Chriſtian, it being founded upon the ſame Principles as the Natural. It is not therefore of this Religion, the Excellence and Perfection of which I admire, that I intend to ſpeak in this Diſcourſe; but of thoſe, that under the name of the true one, have ſpread themſelves into Societies in order to confound the notions of Moral good and evil, deprive Men of their Natural right, and then erect a Tyranny in the World, as I have demonſtrated in my tenth Diſcourſe.

I could wiſh that the laying this Truth before Men, were able to bring them back from their Error, and inſpire them with Virtue and Courage enough to ſhake off the yoke that galls them. But this is almoſt impoſſible, thoſe Tyrants being too ſtrong, and the People being oppreſſed, have neither ſtrength nor reſolution enough to extricate themſelves out of their miſery. My deſign then in this Diſcourſe is to make Princes ſenſible, that Religion was inſtituted by Legiſlators, in order to give ſtrength and credit to their Laws; and that Sovereign Princes, having the adminiſtration of civil Laws, ought by conſequence too to have that of Religion: And thereby I propoſe two benefits. The firſt to Princes, by joining the ſacred and civil Authority in one, and the ſecond, to the People, by reſcuing them from

the Tyranny of Prieſts. This then is what the moſt celebrated Hiſtorians tell us concerning the Eſtabliſhment of Religions.

"MNEVES, a Man of a vaſt genius, and "very famous among the great Men of An- "tiquity, was the firſt who gave the Egy- "ptians any written Laws, and induced "them to obſerve them, by pretending he "had received them from Mercury, in or- "der to make them happy. Minos prac- "tiſed the ſame artifice with the Cretans, "and Lycurgus with the Lacedemonians: "the one boaſting he had received his Laws "from Jupiter, and the other from Apollo. "This ſtratagem has been played upon ſe- "veral Nations. For Zathrauſtes made the "Arimaſpians * believe that his good genius "had dictated to him the Laws he had "given them. Zamolxis told the Getæ † "he had received his from Veſta; and So- "ſem perſuaded the Jews, that God, whom "he called Jao, was the Author of his. This "was the common language of Legiſlators, "knowing the People would much ſooner "ſubmit to their Laws, by thinking them "Divine, than if they imagined them meer "human fictions ‖. ANO-

* Arimaſpi erant populi Sarmatiæ Europeæ, & habitabant ubi nunc Ingria, & Ducatus Novogradenſis in Moſcovia.

† Getæ erant populi Daciæ in Scythiæ confinio: nunc Walacher.

‖ Apud Judæos Soſem, Deum, qui Jao dicitur, legum Auctorem ſuarum, finxiſſe perhibetur, &c. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. pag. 48. Ed. Han.

ANOTHER Writer no leſs famous than Diodorus Siculus confirms the ſame thing. "Minos, ſays he, went down every nine "years into Jupiter's cavern, to receive his "Precepts, and afterwards teach them to "Mankind. Lycurgus, who imitated him, "did the ſame. For he boaſted that he re"ceived the Laws that he had ſettled among "the Lacedemonians from the Propheteſs "Pythia, in his frequent Voyages to Del"phos. Amphiaraus, Trophonius, Orpheus, "and Muſæus made uſe of the ſame me"thods. Zamolxis the Pythagorean employed "them with the Getæ, Achaicarus with the "Boſphoreans *. The Gymnoſophiſts or "Bramins employed the ſame artifice with "the Indians; the Magi, and thoſe going "under the names of Necyomantes, Ly"canomantes, and Hydromantes, played "the ſame part with the Perſians, Aſſy"rians, and Chaldæans; and the Soothſay"ers of Hetruria with the Romans. Soſem "alſo and his Succeſſors at firſt made a "pretty tolerable uſe of the ſame expedi"ent, but they afterwards degenerated †.

I SHALL not here trouble the Reader with a multitude of fine paſſages from Plutarch ‖,

* Boſphorani erant populi Sarmatiæ Europææ, verſus Boſphorum Cymmerium: ubi nunc pars Tartariæ Præcopenſis.

† Talis erat Soſem, & Succeſſores ejus, qui, ab initiis non malis, poſtea degenerávere. Strabon. rer. Geograph. lib. 16. pag. 524, &c.

‖ Adverſus Colot.

Polybius *, Herodotus †, Livy ‖, and ſeveral other ancient Hiſtorians, that prove to us, that Men of good ſenſe have in all times been of opinion, that Superſtition was the Child of Policy; for then I ſhould never bring this Diſcourſe to a period: but ſhall only quote two more very remarkable paſſages, and of great weight, to confirm what I have been advancing. The firſt is from a zealous and learned Jew, and the other, oh ſtrange circumſtance! from a very learned and candid Popiſh Prieſt.

"THO' SOLOM, (ſays our Jewiſh Author) "could perſuade that vaſt Multitude to what "he pleaſed, and they were perfectly ſubmiſſive to him, yet he did not abuſe his "Authority; and inſtead of following the "example of thoſe, who graſp at Sovereign Power only to tyranniſe over the "People, he always employed Mildneſs, "Virtue, and Juſtice. Wherefore he was "right in thinking he always had God for "his Guide and Counſellor. Having therefore firſt ſatisfied himſelf that all his actions were according to the Will of God, "he thought it highly neceſſary to eſtabliſh "that notion among the People, becauſe "they who think that God obſerves their "actions, ſeldom dare to be guilty of ill. "And farther, our Legiſlator was neither "a Magician, nor Impoſtor in ſo doing, as "his

* Lib. 5. ſub fin.
† Hiſt. lib. 2.
‖ Decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 11.

his Enemies unjustly lay to his charge; but he was like Minos, and those other Legislators of whom the Grecians boast, some of whom said they had received their Laws from Jupiter, and others from Apollo and the Oracle of Delphos: either believing or pretending to believe it to be true, the more easily to make the People believe so *.

It must be observed that Josephus here designs to give Sosem's Encomium, so that we are not to be surprised, if he lavishes his praises on the merit of his Hero: for this is the constant practice of all Panegyrists and Orators. One thing very surprising is, that Flavius, notwithstanding his attachment to his Religion, had sincerity enough to own that Sosem was not a Man really inspired and chosen by God to declare his Will to Men; but, according to him, Sosem only persuaded himself that he was, and had a mind to persuade the Jews of it too. Had Jo-

* Quapropter recte judicabat, Ducem atque Consultorem se Deum habere; & primitus sibimet satisfaciens, quia secundum illius voluntatem universa gereret, atque tractaret, credidit modis omnibus oportere, ut etiam apud Plebem hæc opinio permaneret. Nam qui Deum respicere suam vitam credunt, delinquere non præsumunt. Hujusmodi quidem noster Legislator fuit, non Magus, non Fallax, sicut derogatores injuste pronunciant: sed quales apud Græcos gloriantur fuisse Minoem, & post eum, Legislatores alios. Namque quidam eorum leges positas a Jove dicebant; alii vero eas in Apollinem, & Vaticinium Delphicum referebant; sive pro veritate hoc credentes, seu facile persuadendum judicantes Populo. Flav. Joseph. contra Appion. lib. 2. pag. 1071. Edit. 1634, in fol.

Joſephus firmly believed all that is ſaid of Soſem in Doxeus, would he have dared to talk in this manner? Had he looked upon Soſem as the Chief and greateſt of Prophets, and as one diſtinguiſhed by God from the whole race of Mankind by the extraordinary Power he granted to him of working ſo many aſtoniſhing Miracles, how could he compare him to Heathen Legiſlators? to Impoſtors *.

LET us now give all our attention to what the Chriſtian Writer is going to tell us.

"ALL Religions, ſays he, muſt have "been brought and given to us by an "extraordinary, and Heavenly Revelation, "taken in and received by Divine Inſpira- "tion, and as coming from Heaven. And "indeed ſo all hold and believe, and this "is the jargon of all Legiſlators, that it "is not of Man, nor any creature, but "of God. But to ſay the Truth without "flattery or diſguiſe, there is nothing in it. "They come to us by the hands, and "means of Men. Witneſs firſt the man- "ner in which all Religions have been re- "ceived into the World, and are ſtill daily "by private Perſons. The Nation, the "Country, the Place determines the Reli- "gion. We are of that which is embraced "in the Place where we are born or educated.

We

* See Tacitus's account of Soſem (Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 2. 3, 4, 5.) It is a confirmation of what Joſephus, and other Hiſtorians tell us of him.

" We are circumciſed, or baptiſed, Jews, " Mahometans, or Chriſtians, before we " know we are Men. Religion is not of " our choice and election, witneſs our lives " and manners afterwards, ſo ill-agreeing " with our Religion, witneſs too that upon " occaſions, and very light ones too, we " run counter to the tenor of our Religion. " Did ſhe hold or were fixed by a Divine " Tie, no human conſideration could make " us ſwerve from it. Such a Tie would not " break ſo eaſily, were there any finger or " beam of the Deity in it.

" All Religions agree in many things, " have almoſt the ſame Principles and foun- " dations; agree in the general, have the " ſame progreſs, and walk in the ſame " ſteps, and indeed have all taken birth " in the ſame climate and air. All of them " invent and furniſh out Miracles, Prodi- " gies, Oracles, ſacred Myſteries, holy Pro- " phets, Feſtivals, certain Articles of Faith, " and Creeds neceſſary to Salvation. The " riſe and beginning of them all are mean, " weak, humble; but by degrees, and by " the People's following, and applauding " one another by a ſort of contagion, and " by certain Fictions ſpread abroad, have " taken root, and have got ſo much credit " that they are all adhered to with great " poſitiveneſs and devotion. They all hold " forth and teach, that God is appeaſed, " ſoftened, and brought over, by Prayers,

" Pre-

" Preſents, Vows, Promiſes, Feaſts, and In-
" cenſe.

" THEY all teach that the chief and
" moſt agreeable Service to God, and the
" moſt powerful means of appeaſing him
" and obtaining his favour, is to give our-
" ſelves much pains, trouble, to cut and
" ſlaſh ourſelves, and load ourſelves with
" many hard and painful ſervices. Witneſs
" throughout all the World, and all Reli-
" gions, ſo many Orders, Companies, and
" Fraternities deſtined to different and ap-
" pointed exerciſes, very painful, and of
" ſtrict profeſſion, ſo far as to tear and
" cut their bodies, thinking they merit much
" more thereby than the reſt of Mankind,
" who concern not themſelves with thoſe
" afflictions, and torments as they do, and
" every day prepare new ones; and human
" Nature will never ceaſe nor find an end
" to the methods of inventing ways to give
" ourſelves pain and torment. And this
" proceeds from a falſe opinion that God
" takes a pleaſure in the torment and de-
" ſtruction of his Creatures, which opinion
" is the foundation of Sacrifices, that were
" general all over the World before the
" birth of Chriſtianity, and exerciſed not
" only upon innocent beaſts, that were but-
" chered and their blood ſhed as a valuable
" preſent to God, but (ſtrange Drunkenneſs
" of Mankind!) upon innocent Children
" and grown Men, as well Malefactors, as
" thoſe that were good; a cuſtom practiſed

" with

" with great Religion by all Nations. By
" the Getæ who amongſt other Ceremonies,
" and Sacrifices, every five years diſpatched
" a Man to their God Zamolxis, upon
" their urgent occaſions; and as it was to
" be one that died immediately, and to be
" put to death in an uncertain manner,
" which was to throw him upon the points
" of three javelins ſet upright, they threw
" ſeveral Perſons, till one happened to ſtick
" in a place that was mortal, and imme-
" diately expired, thinking him a proper
" Man, and favoured, in order to the un-
" dertaking of the Embaſſy, and the others
" not. By the Perſians, witneſs the action
" of Ameſtris, the Mother of Xerxes, who
" at once buried fourteen Youths of noble
" families alive, according to the Religion
" of the Country. By the ancient Gauls,
" and Carthaginians, who ſacrificed their
" Children to Saturn. Witneſs the Lace-
" demonians who doated on their Diana,
" ſo far as to whip young Boys in honour
" of her, and ſometimes even to Death. By
" the Grecians, witneſs the Sacrifice of I-
" phigenia *: By the Jews, witneſs that of
" Jepthe †: By the Romans, witneſs the
" two Decij ‖: By the Mahometans, who
" ſlaſh and ſcarify their faces, breaſts, and
" other limbs to gratify their Prophet. Wit-
" neſs

* Tantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum! Lucret. lib. 1.

† Judges ch. 11. ver. 31, &c.

‖ Quæ fuit tanta iniquitas Deorum, ut placari Populo Romano non poſſent, niſi tales Viri occidiſſent. Liv.

" neſs the People of the Eaſt and Weſt In-
" dies newly diſcovered, and of Themiſti-
" tan, who cement their Idols with the
" blood of children. What a depravation
" of good ſenſe this! to think to flatter the
" Deity by inhumanity, to repay the Divine
" Goodneſs with our affliction, and ſatisfy
" his Juſtice by cruelty. What ſtupidity!
" to think, as the Chineſe do, that their
" God Fohe died a cruel and infamous
" death to ſave Mankind *. What delu-
" ſion! to imagine we can prevail upon
" and appeaſe the Wrath of God the Fa-
" ther by ſacrificing his well-beloved Son a
" a million of times a day to him. Oh!
" Juſtice thirſting after human blood! Oh!
" innocent blood ſhed in vain in the midſt
" of ſo many pains and torments †! whence
" can proceed ſo ſtrange an opinion and
" belief that God takes a pleaſure in the
" torment and deſtruction of his works, and
" of human nature? according to ſuch no-
" tions, of what a temper God muſt be?

" RELIGIONS have likewiſe their diffe-
" rences, their ſeparate and peculiar Articles,
" whereby they are diſtinguiſhed from one
" another: and each prefers itſelf to the reſt,
" and is confident it is better, and truer than
" the reſt; and has ſome reproach or other
" to

* ——— *Salvator humani generis.* Vide Father le Comte's new memoirs of the preſent ſtate of China. Tom. 1.

† Ut ſic Dii placentur, quemadmodum ne homines quidem ſeviunt.

" to fling at the reſt, and thereby condemn " and reject them. But as they ſpring up " one after another, the youngeſt always " builds upon its elder that came next be- " fore it, which it does not diſapprove, and " condemn wholly and in all things, for ſo " it would not be admitted or take footing; " but charges it with imperfection, or that " its time is expired, and that therefore it is " come to ſucceed and perfect it, and thus " by degrees ruins it, and enriches itſelf " by the ſpoils. As the Jewiſh did to the " Heathen and Egyptian, the Chriſtian to " the Jewiſh, and the Mahometan both to " the Jewiſh and Chriſtian. For which rea- " ſon ancient Religions always condemn the " modern in the lump, and look upon them " as capital enemies †.

Such has the opinion of the great Men of antiquity been upon Religion *, ſuch is that of the ſenſible and learned moderns, and of all who make uſe of their Reaſon. Wherefore I may be allowed to ſay without any impiety, that Religion might be ſubject to the Prince, and not the Prince to Religion. For, as Religion owes its riſe to Princes or Legiſlators, ſince it was they that made it known to Men, and placed it in that high veneration

† Charron, of Wiſdom, book 2. ch. 5. He was Canon and Maſter of the School of the Church of Bourdeaux. He lived in Montagne's time, and was his intimate friend. See Bayle's Dict. Article, Charron.

* See Bayle's Penſees diverſes, ch. 81. 108. continuat. des penſees diverſes, ch. 18.

veneration where we at preſent find it; it ought, I ſay, both out of duty and gratitude, to depend entirely upon Princes, that being the ſole right whereon they ground their Authority, when it has not been ſettled with the free conſent of their People: And conſequently they likewiſe have an abſolute power over the Worſhip, Ceremonies, Prieſts, and every thing that belongs to Religion.

NOR ought this to be taken for a new Doctrine, it being, on the contrary, a very ancient one, and the ſame that all Legiſlators and their Succeſſors have taught and handed down to us. For, we ſee in the Scripture, that Moſes exercised an abſolute authority both in matters of Religion as well as in all civil affairs *. After him both of them were transferred to Eleazar †, the High Prieſt, and continued without interruption in the hands of the High Prieſt till the reign of Saul, who was inveſted with it, as deſpotic and abſolute Prince of the Jews ‖. After the death of this their firſt King, his Succeſſors continued in poſſeſſion of it till the Babyloniſh Captivity ‡. And after that Captivity the ſacerdotal Kingdom was re-eſtabliſhed, and the High Prieſts again exerciſed both the ſacred and civil Authority, till the Jews fell under the dominion of the Romans **.

THE

* Vide Hobbes de Cive, ſub titulo Religionis cap. 16. ſect. 13.

† Id. ibid. ſect. 14.

‖ Id. ibid. ſect. 15.

‡ Id. ibid. ſect. 16.

** Id. ibid. ſcct. 17. Vide etiam Grotius de Jure belli & pacis, lib 1. cap. 4. ſect. 6.

THE ſame policy was obſerved by the Romans. For, from Numa their King and Legiſlator, all their Kings ordered matters of Religion according to their pleaſure and their intereſt *. And after thoſe Tyrants were driven out of Rome, and the Republic was formed, it was the Senate that upon the report of the chief Prieſts, Augurs, Soothſayers, and other Prieſts, ordered Proceſſions, Sacrifices, ſacred Feaſts, and every thing belonging to the province of Religion †. This vaſt authority was conferred upon Cæſar, when he made himſelf abſolute Prince of his Country by deſtroying the Republic, and after him, it paſſed into the Emperors, his ſucceſſors hands ‖; who, knowing of what conſequence it was to direct in matters of Religion, united the Imperial Majeſty and Dignity to that of Sovereign Pontif ‡. At Athens it was the Nobility, who, according to Theſeus's regulation, ordered all matters of Religions, and diſpoſed of all employments in the State, and interpreted as well the ſacred as prophane Laws **.

THESE are facts not the leaſt to be doubted, eſpecially if we conſider the actions of Conſtantin

* Rex Anius, rex idem hominum, Phœbique Sacerdos. Virg. Æneid. lib. 3.

† Liv. Dec. 4. lib. 3. cap. 23, 24. & alibi paſſim.

‖ Tacit. annal. lib. 3. cap. 58, 71. & alibi paſſim. Dion. Caſſ. Rom. Hiſt. lib. 53.

‡ Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. lib. 2. cap. 75.

** Plutarch. in Theſeo.

Conſtantin, the firſt Chriſtian, and of Julian the Apoſtate, the laſt Heathen Emperor. For, the one entirely deſtroyed the heathen Religion, by baniſhing the Augurs, and turning the Pontifs and Prieſts out of their employments, throwing down the Temples, and breaking to pieces the Idols, without meeting with the leaſt reſiſtance from the Roman Prieſts, or People *. And the other throwing the Chriſtian Religion, which was then the eſtabliſhed, quite upſide down, without the leaſt oppoſition from the Chriſtians †. Which is a manifeſt proof that the two Authorities were united, and abſolutely poſſeſſed by the Emperor. For, had not Religion been wholly at the diſpoſal both of Conſtantin and Julian, they could not have turned it upſide down ſo eaſily as they did. The Prieſts and People would have riſen in defence of it, had they thought they had any right; but they did not, knowing the Emperor was abſolute Maſter of Religion, and they only the Miniſters and adorers of that, which the Prince ſhould think fit to eſtabliſh.

AFTER Conſtantin, the Chriſtian Emperors his ſucceſſors preſerved for many Ages this full and abſolute authority over Religion; but afterwards loſt it for the reaſons I have alledged in the fifth and ſixth Diſcourſes of this Work. Thus the two Authorities became divided; the Roman Empire was ruined by that

* Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. lib. 9. cap. 8.
† Theodoret. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. lib. 3. cap. 6. &c.

that diviſion, and Italy, once the glory of the World, then fell a prey to all Nations, and a ſlave to thoſe who had regarded her as Queen of the Univerſe.

THO' the Eaſtern Princes are accuſed with being not ſo good politicians, as thoſe of the Weſt, yet they have always followed this important maxim. For the Emperor of China, the Great Mogul, the Cham of Tartary, and the King of Perſia, all have a ſovereign power over the Heathen and Mahometan Prieſts in their Dominions, as well as over the reſt of their ſubjects. Every one knows that among the Saracens, the Caliph was at once head of the Religion and of the State; and amongſt the Turks, the Grand Signor has a right of making whom he pleaſes Mufti. Indeed the Turks think that it is not lawful by their Law to put their Mufti to death; and yet Sultan Morat, who well underſtood the Art of reigning, and conſequently acknowledged no other Law but his own will, reſolved to put one of them to death, to give an inſtance of his abſolute authority. He therefore ſent for him, and aſked him who made him Mufti? Thy Highneſs, anſwered he: Then, replied the Emperor, if I made thee Mufti, ſurely I can unmake thee, and had him ſtrangled upon the ſpot. Sultan Mehemed too put one, called Hodgiazade Effendi, to death *. Since theſe two executions, the Sultans exerciſe an abſolute

* Thevenot, Voyage du levant, part 1. ch. 40.

abſolute power as well in Religious as Civil affairs, and thereby have ſecured themſelves from the miſchief, which the exorbitant Authority of that high Prieſt might do them *.

I HAVE ſufficiently proved the neceſſity of keeping theſe two Authorities united, from the reaſons I have given in my tenth Diſcourſe, and for others no leſs important †. I have likewiſe ſhewn very plainly how they belong to the Prince, in a deſpotic State ‖, or in a Republic, to thoſe who repreſent the Prince. I ſhall now ſpeak of the means to be uſed by a Prince, in order again to unite the ſacred Authority (which his anceſtors loſt either by weakneſs or ignorance) to the civil; thereby to make his power abſolute, which is no longer ſuch, whilſt part of the people of his Dominions are not ſubject to the Laws. The people I mean, are the Clergy; and a Prince muſt by all means bring them to ſubmit to his will as well as the reſt of his Subjects, if he would be really a Sovereign. The methods to be employed are various; but to come at the moſt ſuitable, we muſt firſt examine the nature of the Eccleſiaſtical body.

THE Clergy of a State then are powerful either by themſelves or their Allies, or elſe are

* See in the Life of Peter late Czar of Moſcovy, how he wiſely reduced the High Prieſt's exhorbitant authority to his own power.

† Conſult them in Hobbes, de Civ. tit. Imperii, cap. 13. ſect. 13.

‖ Vid. Spinos. Tract. Theolog. Polit. cap. 18, 19.

are weak, and without Allies. If they be powerful, gentle slow remedies must be employed, that may insensibly purify the Body from its corruptions, without putting it into too violent an agitation. But if they be weak, we may boldly proceed to quick and violent Remedies; because no ill effects are to be feared from them. It was thus the Emperor Charles the Fifth, Henry the Eighth of England, and Lewis the Fourteenth of France acted, they being powerful, and the affairs of those times in such a situation, as that they might offend with all security, without fearing to be offended. For, Charles the Fifth, being piqued at the Pope, for being in the French interest, revenged himself openly; by sending the Duke of Bourbon with an army of Lutherans to sack Rome, plunder the Churches of their riches, and reduce the Pope to the last extremity in the Castle of St. Angelo, where he and his Cardinals had taken refuge, to avoid the fury of the Germans *. Hereupon the Pope, to extricate himself out of so miserable a condition, was forced to surrender the Castle, the Cardinals, and himself to the discretion of his Enemies, and promise them from that time to do whatever the Emperor pleased; after which he was obliged to turn all the valuable effects of the Church into ready Money, and to set to sale several Cardinals Hats to the highest bidder, and to reimburse the Emperor the charges of that Expedition †.

* See Guicciardini, Sacco di Roma.

† See Onuph. Panvinius in vita Clementis 7.

CHARLES eaſily made the Church ſubmit to whatever he pleaſed, having ſo weakened France her Ally, that they could not obſtruct his deſigns; and likewiſe becauſe he deſpiſed the Pope's ſpiritual arms, being ſure he would not dare to excommunicate him at that time, when Lutheraniſm was ſhooting up in Germany. For had the Emperor, powerful as he was, embraced it, he could have eaſily overturned the Papal Monarchy.

HENRY ſucceeded in his deſign, becauſe he had found means to make himſelf abſolute maſter of his ſubjects, by bringing the Nobility and Clergy of the realm into his intereſt. Thus it was no great difficulty for him to ſhake off the Pope's yoke, as he actually did; commanding that none ſhould obey or regard the Pope upon pain of Death; that neither the Peter-penny, nor any other Tribute ſhould be paid into the Apoſtolic chamber; and laſtly, by very wiſely uniting the civil and ſacred Authority in his own Perſon, and declaring himſelf Head of the Church *.

THE King of England ran no hazard in the execution of this great undertaking, becauſe there was a very good underſtanding between him and the King of France, and becauſe he feared neither the Emperor, nor the Pope's excommunications, having found means

* Burnet's Hiſt. of Reform. part 1. lib. 3. an. 1534. Sleidan. de Statu Relig. & Reipub. lib. 9. an. 1534.

means to prejudice his Subjects in his favour, as we have already obſerved. I muſt here take notice, that Clement the Seventh did not refuſe to divorce Henry out of a ſcruple of conſcience, as the Vulgar imagine, but out of fear of offending the Emperor Charles the Fifth, who was Catharine of Arragon's Nephew *. For had not the Evils he had ſuffered from the Emperor in the Caſtle of St. Angelo been freſh in his memory, he would rather have ſuffered Henry to have been divorced an hundred times over, than loſe his Authority in England.

Lewis the Fourteenth had occaſion twice to ſhew the Court of Rome that he was an abſolute Prince. The firſt was, when the Corſes, or Guards of the Pope, affronted the Duke de Crequi his Embaſſador †. For, as ſoon as that Miniſter had informed the King of the affronts he had received from them at the inſtigation of Pope Alexander the Seventh, who hated the King, having received ſome ſlight from him, whilſt he was a Cardinal; the King was ſo highly provoked, that he had like to have cut off the Pope, his Family, and all the Inhabitants of Rome, as he threatned the Pope in a Letter he writ to him. The Pope was ſo frightned at it, that he immediately diſpatch'd a Bull to the

* Pontifex exiſtimaret, Cæſarem Catharinæ nepotem e ſorore, cui per Italiam omnia feliciter evenierent, non eſſe temere offendendum. Sleidan. ubi ſupra.

† 20 Aug. 1662. See Hiſt. des Demelez de la Cour de France, avec la Cour de Rome, par Regn. Deſmarez.

King, protesting, that neither himself, nor any of his Relations, had any hand in the affronts his Ambassador had received; but on the contrary he and his whole Family were extremely concern'd at it, and that he had imprisoned such of the Corses as were guilty, in order to punish them as they deserved, and to turn the rest, together with their officers out of their posts: that he had removed Cardinal Imperiale from his Government of Rome, because he had not been active enough in opposing the insolences of the Corses; and if all this was not a sufficient satisfaction to appease the King's indignation, he protested he was ready to give all other that his Majesty should require.

THIS extreme submission of the Pope cooled the King's resentment, and induced him to accept of his Proposals. Pisa was pitched upon to treat of this affair, and Monsr. Bourlemont the King's Minister, and one from the Pope concluded, that Cardinal Chigi his Holiness's Nephew, should set out for France, and throw himself at the King's feet, imploring his pardon in his Uncle's name; and then receive and execute what farther orders the King should please to lay upon him *.

* See the extract of this Treaty between Pope Alexander the Seventh, and Lewis the Fourteenth, concluded at Pisa the 12 Feb. 1664. cited in the Hist. of Lewis 14. liv. 4.

THE ſecond occaſion the King had of humbling the Court of Rome, was when he extended the right of Regale over all the Eccleſiaſtical communities in his Kingdom, which before extended only to Biſhopricks. Innocent the Eleventh had a mind to oppoſe this innovation, ſo prejudicial to him; but his oppoſition could not hinder the King from taking poſſeſſion of all the Abbeys and Benefices as they grew vacant, and diſpoſing of them as he pleaſed. Nay, he went farther, for being incenſed at the Pope's oppoſition, he ſeiſed upon the County and City of Avignon to puniſh him, and as a favour reſtored it to Alexander the Eighth, upon condition that neither he nor his Succeſſors ſhould ever after diſpute the right of Regale with him.* Thus Lewis the Fourteenth made the Court of Rome truckle to him, without fearing to be excommunicated, being at that time the moſt powerful Prince in Chriſtendom, and ſecure of his Subjects fidelity.

THE actions of theſe three great Princes, prove to us, that whoever is armed with Power may employ open force to make his Enemies ſubmit to him. But as all Princes are not ſo powerful, nor can find ſuch favourable opportunities as they had, in ſuch a caſe the Prince muſt uſe other means to bring

* See the Hiſtory of the Reign of Louis 14. an. 1689.

bring about his deſigns; and ſince the Clergy ſhook off their obedience to their Sovereigns more by artifices than by force; a wiſe Prince will likewiſe make uſe of the ſame Arms to bring them back to their duty: and as the Church cloaked her uſurpations under the ſacred Veil of Religion; a Prince muſt put on the ſame Veil to give a ſanction to his actions. Thus he may regain the Rights that have been wreſted from him by the Church, without diſturbing the Public peace.

THE firſt and fundamental Rule to be exactly obſerved by any Prince, is to appear very zealous for Religion, that he may paſs for a devout Man with the People. For as ſoon as they think him ſo, they will look upon him as a juſt Man, and love him as a good Prince; the People always imagining he cannot be any thing elſe whilſt he is outwardly all Devotion and Piety, their attention being fixed upon appearances, and not upon the reality of things. In a word a Prince muſt purſue the Maxims of the great Politician of Florence *, if he would enjoy a continued ſeries of ſucceſs in all his undertakings. Nor muſt a wiſe Prince ſuffer himſelf to be prejudiced againſt him by the cenſures of the World: for, according to the ſaying of a very ingenious man,

* Macchiav. in his Prince, ch. 18.

Man *, there are ſo few that know what Reaſons of State are †, and conſequently that can be competent Judges of the nature of his Precepts, and Maxims; that I can ſay that ſeveral Miniſters and Princes have been known to ſtudy them, and even practiſe them point after point, who deteſted them before they came to the Crown, or Miniſtry. So true it is, that one muſt be a Prince, or at leaſt an able Miniſter to be able to underſtand not only the uſe, but the neceſſity of thoſe Maxims. That Prince therefore who ſhall practiſe them will be ſure of pleaſing rather than offending his Subjects, whenever he ſhall undertake to cruſh the inſolence and ambition of the Clergy, in order to force them to live up to the morality of the Goſpel.

The ſecond Maxim, and that as eſſential as the firſt, is, to make no alteration in the Tenets of the eſtabliſhed Religion. For, Roman Catholic Princes will never blame a Prince of their own Communion, for endeavouring to extirpate the vices of his Clergy; but they would blame, and oppoſe him too, ſhould he endeavour to extirpate their Religion; either as thinking themſelves bound to it by a motive of Conſcience, or pretending to be ſo out of Policy, in order to have a ſpecious pretence for ſeiſing upon his Dominions.

* Amelot de la Houſſaye in his Preface to Macchiave Prince.

† Arcana Imperii.

nions. Upon these two Maxims, may a Prince lately endeavour to regain what the Church has usurped upon him, and to restore that Felicity to his Subjects, whereof they have been deprived by the Liberties and Immunities of the Clergy. In the following and last Discourse I shall treat of the several Methods to be taken by a Prince on such an occasion, and of those Benefits which both him and his Subjects will reap by them.

DIS-



DISCOURSE XII.

Of the Regulations to be made by a Prince for reſtraining the unjuſt Power of the Clergy; and how glorious and uſeful they would be to the Sovereign, and how beneficial to the Subjects.



CCORDING to the Plan I at firſt laid down to myſelf, I am at laſt come to the End, at which I have always aimed in this Work, and I flatter my ſelf with ſucceſs from the method I have purſued. For, knowing how hard it is to make Men underſtand the truth of a thing, ſo long as they are prejudiced againſt it by the wrong bent of Education, and the falſe Opinions imbibed from their very Infancy, and grown habitual to them; I firſt endeavoured

voured to free their minds from all Error and Prejudice, that they might be able to make uſe of the Light of Reaſon, in order to riſe out of that Gulph of Miſery, in which they have ſo long been ſwallowed up, from an ignorant and ſuperſtitious blindneſs of Mind.

AND to that end I have, in my firſt, ſecond, and third Diſcourſes, given them a clear and diſtinct view of the Doctrine and Manners of Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and the primitive Chriſtians. In thoſe three Diſcourſes I have given a model of a true Chriſtian, and of a good Clergyman; that by comparing him with the Prieſts of our times, all may ſee, that theſe are as vicious and wicked, as thoſe were good and virtuous; they having by their ambition and avarice ſpoil'd and corrupted thoſe fine Qualities, that ought ever to adorn the Soul of the Preachers of the Goſpel, and perverted Chriſtians by their bad Example and deteſtable Doctrine. In my fourth and fifth, I have laid open the cauſes that corrupted, and made them of an ambitious, covetous, and perſecuting Spirit. In my ſixth I have diſcovered their Uſurpations, and expoſed their Tyranny. In my ſeventh, I have plainly and evidently proved their Authority not to be founded upon Scripture, but uſurped. In my eighth, I have diſcloſed the means whereby the Church maintains her encroachments. In my ninth, I have enumerated the Evils brought upon People, and eſpecially upon Princes, by the

Liberties

Liberties and Immunities of the Church, and the exorbitant number of the Clergy. In my tenth, I have ſhewn the extent of the natural and civil Rights of Mankind, the nature of Governments; what may ſupport or deſtroy them; and that a Monarchy can never ſtand long, whilſt a part of the People is not ſubject to the Prince's Authority. In my eleventh, I have proved that Religion was introduced into Societies by Legiſlators, to give a ſtrength and ſanction to their Laws, and that all Authority, as well the ſacred as civil, belongs *of right* to the Sovereign. And in this my laſt Diſcourſe I ſhall propoſe ſuch Regulations to Princes, as are neceſſary for reſtraining the exorbitant Power of the Church; by the means of which they may reinſtate themſelves in all their Rights, and ſet their Subjects free from the Tyranny of the Clergy.

A Prince is bound to make theſe Regulations,† upon two Motives; a Religious, and a Political. The former, with a view of doing his duty by enforcing the obſervance of Chriſt's Laws, ſince, according to the Scripture, the Prince is charged with the Puniſhment of ſuch as ſhall trangreſs them, and with the Protection and defence of thoſe that ſhall obey them *. According to theſe Principles, the Sovereign is bound to reform, not

† The Reader muſt obſerve, that out of the 12 Regulations I have offered to the late King of —— that Prince cauſed five of them to be put in Execution before he abdicated the Crown; which are mark'd thus *

* Rom. ch. xiii. 1, 2, 3. —— 1 Pet. ch. ii. 13, 14, 15.

not only the Manners, but the preſent State of the Clergy, as being diametrically oppoſite to the Precepts of the Goſpel, and inconſiſtent with the nature of the Prieſthood, as has been demonſtrated in the courſe of this Work. But a Prince will never come at the root, to extirpate the Vices of the Clergy, if he do not firſt remove the Cauſes that produced, and will always produce them ſo long as they ſubſiſt, which are Riches, as I have ſhewn in my fourth, fifth, and ſixth Diſcourſes.

By the ſecond, and political Motive, neither ought the Prince to tolerate the Liberties and Immunities of the Church, in order to preſerve himſelf and his Subjects from ruin, for the reaſons given in my eighth and ninth Diſcourſes. A Prince then being determined to remedy theſe Evils, upon two ſo juſt and important motives, he will in purſuance of that Maxim *, throw all odious and ſevere Actions upon the Senate, or his Miniſters, and reſerve to himſelf all acts of Clemency, becauſe the one will gain him the Hatred, but the other the Affection of his People; and will take this method in it.

I. The Prince muſt take into his hands and make himſelf abſolute Maſter of all Archbiſhopricks, Biſhopricks, Abbeys, and Pariſhes, as well ſecular as regular, to diſpoſe of

* --- Ne cæteris adſentiendi neceſſitas fieret; Quidam ad ſævitiam trahebant. Tacit. annal. lib. 3. in Tiberio. Princes ought to leave the performance of what is odious to their Miniſters, and reſerve to themſelves the diſpenſing of Favours. Macchiav. Prince, ch. 19.

of them to whom he pleases, as the King of France does. He must likewise nominate the Provincials, Prefects, Superiors, or Heads of all Societies, Congregations, &c. which being nominated are to remain in their offices so long as they shall behave well, by a strict and faithful obedience to their Sovereign.

II. He must settle the number of Monks, Priests, Jesuits, and Nuns of every Convent, Monastry, College, or Religious House; which number may be diminished according to his pleasure, but never augmented. At the same time he must absolutely forbid all his Subjects to make themselves Monks, Priests, Nuns, &c. without his permission.

* III. He must take into his own hands all the Estates, † Lands, Rents, &c. belonging to Archbishops, Bishops, Monks, Jesuits, Nuns, and all Ecclesiastics in his Dominions; and every year order them a sum of money whereon to live decently, but not sufficient to blow up their ambition, or be a charge to the Kingdom.

* IV. He must publish a Proclamation strictly forbidding all his Vassals and Subjects from thenceforth to make any Donations, whether pious or otherwise, upon any pretence whatsoever, of goods moveable or immoveable, or ready money, to Monks, Jesuits,

† That King did not take into his own hands all the Estates of the Clergy as here advis'd; but he submitted 'em to the General Tax of the Country.

ſuits, Prieſts, or other Eccleſiaſtical Societies, upon pain to the Donor of incurring the Prince's diſpleaſure, if alive; and confiſcation of double the value to his Heirs, if dead; and to the Society, Convent, or Clergy to be immediately baniſhed his Dominions, with confiſcation of every thing belonging to them, if they accept it.

* V. HE muſt expreſly forbid all Jeſuits, Monks, and Clergymen to keep Schools, either Public or Private for the Education of Youth. At the ſame time he muſt appoint Schools in ſuch Towns and Villages of his Dominions where there is no Univerſity; which muſt be provided with all ſorts of Profeſſors neceſſary for teaching his Subjects, and for encouraging all Arts and Sciences, on which the Glory and Happineſs of a Nation depend. Theſe Profeſſors muſt be Laymen, except the Divinity, and Civil Law Profeſſors, who may be Clergymen; but they muſt be entirely devoted to their Prince, that they may teach only ſuch Doctrine as may be ſuitable to his intereſt, and to that of his Subjects.

VI. HE muſt order the Curates, or ſuch as he ſhall think fit, for three Sundays running, to publiſh in their Pariſhes or Churches at the time of High Maſs, that no perſon is to preſume to pay the leaſt ſum of money for the celebration of Maſſes either for the living or dead, they being to be celebrated

gratis

gratis for all ſorts of perſons without diſtinction in all the Churches both in the City and Country: and all Clergymen, that ſhall take Money after the Publication of this order are to be condemned as guilty of Simony in ſuch penalty as the Prince ſhall judge proper.

VII. The Senate muſt iſſue out an order, importing that all Confeſſors, or Eccleſiaſtics, who ſhall openly or tacitly infuſe a hatred of their Prince into their Penitents, or ſhall not endeavour to inſpire them with ſentiments of Fidelity, Reſpect, Love, and Obedience, ſuch as a good Subject ought to have for his Prince; all ſuch Confeſſors, I ſay, muſt be condemned as guilty of Sedition and Rebellion, and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity of the Law, as guilty of High Treaſon. The Senate muſt likewiſe condemn the Penitent who ſhall not immediately diſcover the wicked deſigns of ſuch Confeſſor to the Miniſtry, to the ſame puniſhment.

* VIII. The Prince muſt publiſh a Proclamation, declaring it to be his pleaſure that no Temples ſhall be a refuge for Malefactors, and at the ſame time he muſt ſeiſe into his hands the Lands of the Pope within his Dominions, in order to enforce this Law.

* IX. The Prince muſt put down the Tribunal of the Inquiſition; nay, were it entirely at his devotion, as it was at that of Ferdinand the fifth, King of Spain; as well for the reaſons

reasons I shall presently give, as for putting a stop to the Extortion, Violence, and Injustice committed by it upon his Subjects, of whom a Prince ought to be the Father, and Protector.

X. He must likewise abolish all those Fraternities of the Rosary, of Mount Carmel, of St. Austin's and Francis's Girdle, and of the Holy Ghost, and all the rest of them. To this end, he must forbid all Monks, Societies, and Congregations of the Clergy to continue them for the future, and all his Lay-subjects to enter into any of them, upon such penalty as he shall think fit to inflict.

XI. He must also lessen that vast number of superfluous Festivals, of no use to Religion, and of great prejudice to the People; and only leave Sundays, Easter-day, Christmas-day, New-year's-day, and to distinguish them from Protestants, Lady-day; and there will still be too many.

XII. When the Prince has got the Estates of the Clergy into his hands, he must distribute them to the Nobility and Commons, upon condition to pay the same Tax as other Lands do. And as he will thereby make a very great addition to his revenue, he may ease his Subjects, by lowering the Taxes. He may besides, (to let Roman Catholick Princes see he has not seised upon the Estates of the Church out of Covetousness,) at his own

own charge, maintain the Poor of the Country, that are not able to get their livelihood by working. Thus he will ſet a good Example to the reſt of the Princes of Chriſtendom, and reſtore to the Poor what the Church had robbed them of *.

LET us now examine theſe Regulations, and ſee what Glory and Advantage will accrue to the Prince by eſtabliſhing them.

1. THE Prince muſt make himſelf abſolute Maſter of all Archbiſhopricks, Biſhopricks, &c. It is eaſy to judge that by this Regulation, the Prince will gain the affection and reſpect of the Clergy; for, they love and fear the Pope, becauſe it is in his power to raiſe them to high Preferments in the Church, to grant or deprive them of Benefices as he ſhall think good. So that when the Clergy find their good or ill fortune depend upon their Prince, they will do every thing to merit his favour, and avoid his diſpleaſure. For theſe very reaſons the Prince will be ſure of the affection and fidelity of the Monks, and will be abſolute Maſter of the Convents, or Religious Houſes, by nominating the Heads of them.

2. THE Prince muſt ſettle the number of Monks, &c. The number ought to be ſettled, that Monks, Jeſuits, &c. may not have a power of encreaſing, and likewiſe that he may be able to ſettle a maintenance for them; which

* See my fourth Diſcourſe.

which could not be done, were the number of them uncertain. Afterwards the Prince ought to leſſen them by degrees, as much as he can; for, both Prince and People will always be the happier, the fewer of theſe Drones he has in his Dominions, for the reaſons given in my ninth Diſcourſe.

3. He muſt take into his hands, all the Eſtates, Lands, Rents, &c. belonging to Archbiſhops, Biſhops, &c. He will be forced to make this Regulation, to hinder the Clergy from growing rich for the future. For ſhould they be allowed to enjoy what they have, they might increaſe it inſenſibly, without its being perceived; which they cannot do when they have only their Church, or the bare place of their reſidence, called Convent, Monaſtry, or Religious Houſe. By this Regulation the Prince will make the Clergy what they ought to be, and in particular the Biſhops, and Monks, according to their Inſtitution eſtabliſhed by the Apoſtles, and their own Founders, as I have ſhewn in the beginning of my fourth Diſcourſe, and for the reaſons inſiſted upon at the end of my ſixth.

4. He muſt iſſue out a Proclamation ſtrictly forbidding all his Vaſſals, and Subjects from thenceforth to make any Donations, &c. I have plainly proved the abſolute neceſſity of this prohibition in my eighth and ninth Diſcourſes. Thus I ſhall only repeat it, that no Policy imaginable will be able to hinder the

the Clergy from ruining the State in time, if they are ſtill permitted to acquire riches, and they to be unalienable, and free from Taxes. Nor are we to imagine that this evil may be avoided, by only ſubjecting the Eſtates of the Clergy to the general Taxes of the State, and leaving them a liberty of acquiring others. For, an ignorant and ſuperſtitious Prince will one time or other aſcend the Throne, and reſtore them the Immunity they formerly enjoyed. But when the Clergy have no Poſſeſſions, and their effects are once diſtributed amongſt the Nobility and Commons, as already mentioned, it will not be eaſy for a Prince to be guilty of ſuch a folly, by the oppoſition he will find from the Nobility, or the Commons, who, being uſed to enjoy thoſe Eſtates, will do their utmoſt to make the Prince ſenſible of the injuſtice he is doing them, and the Miſchiefs he is bringing upon himſelf and the State.

5. He muſt expreſly forbid the Jeſuits, &c. to keep Schools, either public or private for the Education of Youth, &c. It is eaſy to find why the Prince ſhould make ſuch a Law, if we have well conſidered what I have ſaid in my eighth Diſcourſe, and particularly in my ninth, where we have ſeen an Abſtract of the Doctrine which the Jeſuits and other Clergy teach their Diſciples. Wherefore a wiſe Prince, or rather the Senate, which ought to be perpetually watchful for their Sovereign's Preſervation, ought never to ſuffer

thoſe Wretches to inſtruct the Youth in ſo deteſtable a Doctrine, which has been the occaſion of all the Aſſaſſinations that are committed. (The Profeſſors ought all to be Laymen, except thoſe of Divinity and Civil Law, who may be Clergymen.) This Regulation is the propereſt a Prince can make to fix an abſolute Authority, and to make his Subjects faithful to him. For we well know that the ſentiments of Men are according to the Doctrine they have imbibed. So that if on one hand they learn from the Jeſuits, that it is lawful to rebel againſt their Sovereign, and to kill him as a Tyrant, whenever the Pope commands it, and declares him ſuch in his Excommunication; becauſe he is above all Monarchs, and his Decrees being Divine, are infallible, and conſequently to be obeyed by all. That the Eſtates of the Church ought to be exempted from all Taxes, being St. Peter's Patrimony, &c. They will, on the other hand, learn in theſe new Schools, ſet up under the Prince's Authority, that God has veſted Kings with an abſolute Power over all Men indifferently, as well Clergy, as Laity: That Peter, the firſt Pope, commanded Men to be obedient and faithful to their Prince, tho' a wicked one *. That the Pope has no right to depoſe Princes, or to abſolve their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance; that ſuch a Doctrine is impious, and contrary to the Precepts of Chriſt, and his

* 1 Pet. ii. 13, &c.

his Apoſtles; and an Authority formerly uſurped by Popes, who made an advantage of the People's ignorance, and the diviſions among Princes, which they almoſt always fomented, that they might fiſh in troubled Water: That, on the contrary Princes had a right of electing, depoſing, and puniſhing them with Death whenever they erred. That all the goods of the Church are the effects of the bounty and liberality of Sovereigns and other Chriſtians; and in ſhort, all that I have inſiſted upon and proved in my ſixth and ſeventh Diſcourſes. The Profeſſors appointed to teach this Doctrine ought to be Clergymen, and of an exemplary Life, that what they ſay may make a quick and laſting impreſſion upon the minds of the Subject; and likewiſe that the Profeſſors themſelves may not be accuſed by the Jeſuits and other Clergy with being Heretics.

6. The Prince muſt order the Curates, or ſuch other as he ſhall think fit, for three Sundays running to publiſh in their Pariſhes, &c. This Law muſt be enacted to prevent thoſe great ſums that yearly go out of the purſes of the Laity into that of the Clergy, out of which they never go more. So that the People fooliſhly deprive themſelves of a conſiderable ſhare of their Fortunes, which might be employed a thouſand ways for the Good of the Public, and upon occaſion be uſeful to their Prince. Beſides, it ought to be conſidered how ſcandalous and unjuſt it

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is to pay the Clergy for ſaying Maſs: for thoſe Alms were inſtituted for the ſupport of the Clergy, whilſt they were poor; but as it is now long ſince they are grown rich, the Cauſe, that is, their miſery ceaſing, theſe Alms ought to ceaſe too, as they are only the effect of it *. Nay farther I inſiſt, that had the Clergy the leaſt Juſtice or Gratitude in them, they ought to aſſiſt the Laity by ſharing with them thoſe immenſe riches they gained by their exceſſive Piety; but poor Chriſtians, far from finding that juſt return of Charity, have no greater Enemies than the Clergy, conſidering their extreme Avarice and Ambition.

7. THE Senate muſt iſſue out an Order, importing that all Confeſſors——who ſhall infuſe——a hatred of their Prince into their Penitents, &c. The uſefulneſs of ſuch a Law is ſo viſible to all the World, that there is no occaſion for ſhewing it. So that I ſhall only ſay, it ought neceſſarily to be made to curb the Tongues of the Clergy, who no longer being able to inſinuate their pernicious Doctrine into the Youth in their Schools, might do it in Confeſſions, or on other occaſions.

8. THE Prince muſt publiſh a Proclamation, declaring that the Temples ſhall not be

* Conſult Father Paul's Treatiſe delle materie beneficiarie, articolo 5, &c.

be a refuge for Maleſactors, &c. I have ſhewn the neceſſity of this in my ninth Diſcourſe. And as to the Lands of the Pope, I ſay the Prince muſt abſolutely unite them to thoſe of the Crown: Firſt as they belong to him *of Right*, conſidering that all Crown Lands are unalienable, and as ſuch his Predeceſſors could not diſpoſe of them in favour of the Church to his prejudice; nor is it in the power of any of his Vaſſals to grant their Fiefs to the Church, they having only the uſe of them, and the Prince being the lawful Proprietor: For otherwiſe, ſhould not the reigning Prince reſolve to reunite thoſe Eſtates to the Crown which have been diſmembred from it, either by his Predeceſſors, or Vaſſals, his whole Dominions will in time become Fiefs of the Church. In the ſecond place, the Prince muſt ſubject thoſe Eſtates to his Authority, to ſecure the public tranquillity. For, as they are in the heart of his Dominions, and yet belong to the Pope; all ſorts of Robbers, Aſſaſſins, and the moſt flagrant Criminals will find an Aſylum on thoſe Territories; thereby eſcape the juſt Puniſhment of their Crimes, be a perpetual bad Example to the reſt of his Subjects, and a prodigious encouragement to all ſorts of Villainy, as well as the refuge that Villains find in Churches.

9. He muſt put down the Tribunal of the Inquiſition, were it entirely at his devotion, as it was at that of Ferdinand the Fifth

Fifth, King of Spain, * &c. becauſe a wiſe Prince will never want other means of ruining ſuch as he ſhall ſuſpect, or are any obſtacle to his deſigns: and a covetous or tyrannical Prince will never want other expedients to glut his Avarice with his Subjects Fortunes, without employing the Clergy in it: who will in time make uſe of this Authority conferred on them by the Prince, not to ſerve him, but to ſatisfy their own Avarice and Ambition; and will appropriate it to themſelves too the very firſt opportunity, which they will be ſure to find under a weak and ignorant Prince. So that the People will always be miſerable, as long as they are thus cruelly torn to pieces by thoſe religious Harpies, who are not ſo greedy of their blood as of their riches, and only ſpill the one to get at the other. Thoſe cruel and unnatural Executions, that are every day ſeen in Spain and Portugal, not to mention Italy, are inconteſtable proofs of theſe Truths. For they being both Monarchies, the Clergy have found weak and ignorant Princes, who have given them up the whole Authority of the Inquiſition, looking upon it as an affair purely ſpiritual, that of right belonged to the Church. But the Clergy

* Ferdinand V. in the Year 1484. ſet up the Inquiſition in the Kingdoms of Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia, the more eaſily to deſtroy the Moors, and Jews, and ſeize upon their Wealth, without drawing upon himſelf the odious name of Tyrant. For, all the Hatred fell upon the Officers of the Inquiſition, and all the Profit into the King's coffers. See Father Paul's Diſcourſe concerning the riſe, form, &c. of the office of the Inquiſition.

gy were not able to uſurp that Authority at Venice, tho' they often attempted it, becauſe being a Republic, there were many who always vigorouſly defended their Rights. Theſe are the reaſons, why a Prince ought never to ſuffer the Inquiſition to be ſet up in his Dominions, and if it be, he muſt by all means put it down. For, as he may be certain that his Succeſſors will not every one of them be of a capacity neceſſary for defending the Rights of the Crown, it will always be dangerous for him to veſt the Church with the leaſt Authority from her inſatiable thirſt of Dominion.

10. THE Prince muſt alſo put down thoſe Fraternities of the Roſary, Holy Ghoſt, &c. for thoſe cogent reaſons inſiſted upon in my eighth Diſcourſe, and alſo to prevent thoſe bad Examples they are the cauſe of, that make the Roman Catholick Religion contemptible to the Proteſtants, and ridiculous to the Catholics themſelves. For, who would not be aſhamed to ſee two of thoſe Fraternities quarelling and fighting for the wall, or for Precedency, and break thoſe heavy Crucifixes, and other implements they carry with them in Proceſſion about each others heads and ſhoulders?

11. HE muſt likewiſe cut off a great number of thoſe ſuperfluous Feſtivals, &c. Theſe are my reaſons for it. It is notorious that moſt of the Subjects in a State live by their labour,

labour, and that those Estates are most powerful where Arts, Sciences, and Trade are in the most flourishing condition. Upon these two Principles let us suppose two different Countries, into which Arts, Sciences, and Trade were introduced at the same time, and in which there was an equal number of Men to cultivate and improve them; and that in one of them Men could employ themselves at them but half the year, and in the other all the year round. It is most evident that in the latter of these States Men would make double the progress, and reap double the advantage. Let us farther suppose too, that in each of these Countries there were a number of Mechanics and Workmen who were forced to work every Day for their own livelihood, and the support of their Families; it is plain that in the former there would be several reduced to extreme beggary during six months of the Year; and these losing strength and courage, would not be in a condition of working afterwards. Thus by degrees Arts and Sciences would decline, and be lost; the number of Poor would encrease every instant, and at length that Nation would sink into the utmost distress and misery. Whereas, on the contrary, the other would flourish more and more, and at last grow exceeding Powerful. This indeed is but a Supposition, but grounded upon Experience. For all Protestant Countries have been found to flourish since the introduction of Arts, Sciences, and Commerce by their Princes; but the introducing them

them would have been to little purpoſe, had they not found methods of ſupporting them, by aboliſhing almoſt all thoſe Feſtivals of the Roman Church, that the People might have time to apply themſelves to the profeſſion and exerciſe of them. On the contrary, we ſee that in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, where that great number of Feſtivals is moſt religiouſly kept, the People in general are very miſerable. Wherefore we muſt conclude, that thoſe Feſtivals have been and ſtill are very uſeful to the Church, but very prejudicial to the Sovereign and the Subject *.

12. When the Prince has got the Eſtates of the Clergy into his hands, &c. I have already in that very Article, and in the fourth too ſhewn the neceſſity of this Regulation; and ſo ſhall only add here, that if a Prince would have a juſt title to the name of the Father of his Country and People, he muſt ſo diſpoſe affairs, that the meaneſt of his faithful Subjects may, in proportion, feel the effects of his Goodneſs and Clemency, as well as the greateſt. For that will be the true way to diſtribute Juſtice, and to gain the love and reſpect of all equally.

Before

* Plutarch in the Life of Numa Pompilius tells us, that he inſtituted a great number of Feſtivals, to make the Romans tractable, by making them devout. But the Roman Catholick Church inſtituted them, not to make Chriſtians devout, but to get their Wealth into her hands. For we well know that Devotion, or rather Superſtition was the immediate cauſe of all the gold and ſilver Offerings, and other Donations that Chriſtians have ever made, and ſtill make to the Church.

Before these Regulations are put in execution, and in order to prevent the troubles, which the Ignorance and Superstition of his Subjects might create, the Prince must have a small Treatise printed, wherein a clear and plain Notion of Temporal and Spiritual Authority may be laid before the People, and proofs that the Church has no right in Temporal affairs: That this is one of Christ's positive Commands, and that it wholly and absolutely belongs to the Princes: That the Apostles and primitive Christians, for the first three Centuries, obeyed that Injunction of Christ; and that if the Clergy are since grown so rich and powerful, it is from their rebelling against the Emperors their Lords and Masters; usurping the imperial Rights and Prerogatives, appropriating to themselves the Goods which the Faithful deposited in their hands, and extorting the Wealth of Christians from them by those abominable means mentioned in my fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh Discourses. This little Treatise must be given away *gratis* throughout the Prince's Dominions, for the Instruction of his Subjects. The Author of it must be, or at least past for a Clergyman, and must throughout it shew a great Respect and Affection for the Church, and a lively sorrow to find himself obliged by his Conscience to expose things so odious for the Clergy, &c. so that he will give no handle for accusing him of partiality to his Prince. It will be proper for the Prince too,

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to have ſuch of the Writings of Father Paul *, as may be uſeful on this occaſion, brought into his Dominions, and diſperſed throughout all the Cities, and moſt conſiderable Towns. Theſe Writings will be ſtrong Antidotes againſt the Poiſon of the Court of Rome. Beſides the meaſures a Prince may take, in purſuance of the Example of the Republic of Venice, in order to maintain Peace in his Dominions; he ought, before he makes any attempt, to take away all Schools from the Jeſuits, and other Prieſts, and at the ſame time ſettle Profeſſors in the Univerſities, and Public Schools, that they may immediately ſet about teaching the Doctrine mentioned in the fifth Article. It will be to no purpoſe to mention the Alliances to be made with Proteſtant Princes, in order to ſecure himſelf from the attempts and intrigues of the Pope; being aſſured a Prince wants no Inſtructions in that point from me. Beſides, he need not fear the Court of Rome, ſhe not being now ſo powerful. Neither ought he to fear the Thunder of the Vatican, whilſt he is diſpoſing and preparing his Subjects in the manner I have laid down, and that ſo much the rather, as Excommunications have loſt the virtue they formerly had of blowing up whole Nations into Rebellion, by the wicked and too familiar cuſtom the Church made of ſo

* As Conſiderations upon his Holineſs, Pope Paul the fifth's Cenſures againſt the Republic of Venice. A Treatiſe and Reſolutions upon the validity of John Gerſon's excommunications, tranſlated into Italian by Father Paul. His Treatiſe upon Benefices with Amelot de la Houſſaye's Notes.

ſo doing *. Nor ought the Prince to apprehend a Declaration of War from Catholic Princes, in order to defend the ill-grounded and unjuſt pretenſions of the Clergy, for that would be oppoſing their own rights: and that was the reaſon they did not oppoſe the Republic of Venice, when ſhe reſolved to put a ſtop to the Encroachments of the Church in her Dominions, as ſhe did in effect put a ſtop to them in part. On the contrary, I am very ſure their Hearts would leap for joy tho' they might not immediately ſhew it, to ſee ſo fine a Path opened for them, thro' which being one day forced to paſs upon the ſame motives, they will think themſelves very happy not to find all thoſe Obſtacles and difficulties, which had almoſt made it unpaſſable.

FOR theſe Reaſons then a Prince need fear nothing, in his endeavours to provide for the neceſſities of the State, by making theſe Regulations; for he may be morally certain of not expoſing himſelf to the leaſt danger, but ſure of immortal Glory; by being the Firſt in re-eſtabliſhing the Morality of the Goſpel, and in ſetting Italy free from the cruel Oppreſſion of the Clergy, under which ſhe has groaned for many Ages in vain. He may be ſure of fixing his Power abſolute and uncontroulable upon a firm and ſolid Foundation, whereby he may raiſe his Country to its ancient Grandeur, and reſtore that Felicity,

* Vide Macchiav. Hiſt. Florence, Book I.

Felicity, Virtue, and Bravery to the People, which they loſt, when they became Slaves to the Church.

I SHALL here cloſe up thoſe Truths which I determined to lay before Princes in this Work, that they may know how to preſerve their Dominions from the Miſfortunes that threaten them. I have here laid them open to their view; it is their buſineſs to ſee, and make a proper uſe of them.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

Page 28. *Line* 7. to Paul, returned (*read*) to Paul, Men returned &c.

Felicity, Virtue, and Bravery to the People, which they lost, when they became Slaves to the Church.

I shall here close up those Truths which I determined to lay before Princes in this Work, that they may know how to preserve their Dominions from the Misfortunes that threaten them. I have here laid them open to their view; it is their business to see, and make a proper use of them.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 28. Line 7. to Paul, returned (read) to Paul, Men returned &c.

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